

























# ARS ISLAMICA

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# CARAVANSÉRAILS SYRIENS DU MOYEN-ÂGE

## PAR JEAN SAUVAGET

### II. CARAVANSÉRAILS MAMELOUKS\*

JE DÉCRIRAI D'ABORD CEUX QUI PEUVENT ÊTRE DATÉS AVEC PRÉCISION.

#### 8. KHĀN 'AYĀSH<sup>1</sup>

Caravansérail abandonné, isolé dans la campagne, à 3 km. à l'Ouest du village de 'Adrā, au point où la route de Bagdad se détache de la route de Damas à Homs (*Fig. 1*).

Bâtiment (*Fig. 2*) de 51 m. x 43 m., à cour centrale: sur trois côtés de celle-ci se développe une galerie voûtée; le quatrième côté, correspondant à la façade, est occupé par deux pièces encadrant le couloir d'entrée (local destiné au personnel du caravansérail<sup>2</sup> à gauche; mosquée<sup>3</sup> à droite). La porte, rectangulaire, était surmontée d'une bretèche à cinq mâchicoulis dont il ne reste que les consoles: on est ainsi amené à restituer sur la terrasse un corps de bâtiment surmontant l'entrée, dont il assurait la défense.<sup>4</sup> Le linteau de la porte est chargé de l'inscription suivante:<sup>5</sup>

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ. أَنشَأَ هَذَا الْخَانُ الْمُبَارَكُ لَوَجْهِ اللَّهِ الْكَرِيمِ وَرِثَانَهُ (sic) الْعَمِيمِ الْمُقَرَّرَ الْعَالِي الْمَوْلَى الْأَمِيرِ الْكَبِيرِ  
الْعَالِمِ الْعَادِلِ الْجَاهِدِ الْمُرَابِطِ حَسَامِ الدِّينِ لَاجِينَ الْأَشْرَفِ الْمَنْصُورِ كَانِلِ السُّلْطَانَةِ الْمُعَظَّمَةِ (2) بِالشَّامِ  
الْحُرُوسِ تَقَبَّلَ اللَّهُ مِنْهُ وَذَلِكَ فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ الْعَالِمِ الْعَادِلِ الْمُؤَيَّدِ الْمُظَفَّرِ الْمَنْصُورِ صَلَاحِ  
الدِّينِ سُلْطَانَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ أَبِي الْمُظَفَّرِ خَلِيلِ (تَسِيمِ) أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ابْنِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الشَّهِيدِ  
الْمَلِكِ الْمَنْصُورِ سَيْفِ الدِّينِ قَلَاوُونَ الصَّالِحِي (3) خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ سُلْطَانَهُ وَجَعَلَهُ وَقْفًا مُؤَبَّدًا (4) وَخَيْرًا عَلَى كَافَّةِ  
الْمُسْلِمِينَ الْمُنْتَرِدِينَ سَرْمَدًا لَا يُبَاعُ وَلَا يُمْلِكُ وَوَقَفَ عَلَى مَصَالِحِهِ وَعِمَارَتِهِ وَعِمَارَةِ الْمَسْجِدِ فِيهِ وَمَصْنَعِ الْمَاءِ فِيهِ  
جَمِيعِ الْحَافِظِينَ الَّذِي (sic) فِيهِ وَجَمِيعِ الثَّمَنِ مِنَ الْخَانِ الْكَبِيرِ خَارِجَ بَابِ الْجَانِبِيَّةِ وَمِنَ الْحَوَانِيتِ الدَّائِرَةِ (?)

\* J. Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens du Moyen-Âge. I. Caravansérails ayyûbides," *Ars Islamica*, VI (1939), 49-55, 24 figs.

<sup>1</sup> A. Musil, *Palmyrena* (New York, 1928), p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> L'escalier qui donne accès aux défenses débouchant dans cette pièce, j'en conclus qu'elle abritait le personnel, responsable de la sécurité des voyageurs.

<sup>3</sup> La niche du mihrâb a été crevée et transformée en porte à une date récente.

<sup>4</sup> Sur ce dispositif, v. Sauvaget, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 51, 53, 54.

<sup>5</sup> Dans un cadre ménagé en creux. Dimensions approximatives: 2m.80 x 0m.55. Cinq lignes en neskhi mamelouk assez négligé, en caractères très petits et très enchevêtrés, ce qui rend difficile la lecture du texte, malgré son parfait état de conservation. Quelques points et signes. Déchiffré à la lorgnette. Copie 1929, contrôlée en 1930.

بالخان وا (4) لمسلخ الحجار له برسم عمارة الخان والمسجد وما يُحتاج اليه من الزيت والحصر والحبال والدلاء برسم المصنع وعلى امام يُصرف اليه كل شهر أربعون درهماً وموَدَّن بثلاثين درهماً وبواب بعشرين درهماً وما فضل يُصرف الى الفقراء الواردين والمضطَّرين المسا (5) فريين يمرّ ذلك ذلك (sic) أبداً على ما يُعيّن في كتاب وقفه وذلك بتولية الفقير الى الله بكتاش بن عبد الله أستاذ الدار الحسامي شرع في عمله ثوبه الله في خامس صفر سنة تسعين وستمائة ورفعت هذه العتبة المباركة في ثاني عشر ربيع الآخر من السنة المذكورة وصلى الله على محمد.

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux — Son Altesse auguste, notre maître le grand-émir, instruit dans les sciences islamiques, juste, le champion de la guerre sainte, celui qui combat pour la foi, Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādīn, serviteur d'al-Malik al-Ashraf et d'al-Malik al-Manṣūr, représentant du sultanat (Dieu veuille le glorifier!) à Damas (Dieu veuille la garder!) a fondé ce caravansérail (Dieu veuille le bénir!) pour l'amour de Dieu et dans l'espoir de Son agrément: que Dieu l'accepte de lui! Et cela sous le règne de notre maître le sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, instruit dans les sciences islamiques, juste, assisté de Dieu, vainqueur, victorieux, Salāḥ al-Dīn, le sultan de l'Islam et des Musulmans, Abu' l-Muẓaffar<sup>6</sup> Khalīl, [l'associé]<sup>7</sup> du Prince des Croyants, fils de notre maître le défunt sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Ḳalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī: Dieu veuille faire durer son sultanat! Il en a fait un waḳf constitué à perpétuité et une œuvre charitable au profit de tous les Musulmans qui vont et viennent (*sur les routes*), pour toujours, sans qu'il puisse être vendu ou possédé à titre privé. Il a constitué waḳf au profit du fonctionnement et de l'entretien de ce caravansérail, pour l'entretien de l'oratoire qu'il renferme, et pour la citerne qu'il renferme: la totalité des deux boutiques qu'il renferme,<sup>8</sup> la totalité du  $\frac{1}{8}$  du grand *khān* sis en dehors de la porte d'al-Djābiya (à Damas) et des boutiques situées sur sa périphérie,<sup>9</sup> et l'abattoir qui en est voisin; tout cela pour l'entretien du caravansérail et de l'oratoire, pour (*acheter*) ce qui sera nécessaire en fait d'huile,<sup>10</sup> de nattes (*pour les voyageurs*) et de cordes et de seaux (*pour la citerne*), pour (*rétribuer*) un imam à qui on versera

<sup>6</sup> La *kunya* de Khalīl est ordinairement Abu 'l-Faḥ, mais on sait qu'un même personnage peut porter plusieurs surnoms de cette forme. M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Egypte, I. Mém. . . . Mission Archéol. Française au Caire, XIX* (1903), 153.

<sup>7</sup> Le mot *Ḳasīm*, omis par le rédacteur du texte, a été restitué d'après une inscription du même souverain à Tripoli, M. Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Deuxième partie-Syrie du Nord. Mém. . . . de l'Institut. Français d'Archéol. Orientale du Caire, XXV* (1909), Fasc. I, No. 20, 49-50. *Nāṣir amīr al-mu 'minīn* (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 142, No. 3), serait moins satisfaisant, car Khalīl n'était qu'héritier désigné

lorsqu'il portait ce titre.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Sauvaget, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55. Ici encore, l'absence de tout vestige indique que ces boutiques étaient des constructions adventices en matériaux légers.

<sup>9</sup> Pour un exemple de ce dispositif, v. J. Sauvaget, "L'Architecture musulmane en Syrie," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, VIII (1934), 47, Fig. 17. À la date de l'inscription, un faubourg de caravaniers, pourvu de nombreux *khāns*, commençait à se former devant la porte d'al-Djābiya, le long de la route de Tyr, v. J. Sauvaget, "Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas," *Revue des études islamiques*, VIII (1934), 466.

<sup>10</sup> Pour l'éclairage.

chaque mois 40 dirhems, un muezzin à 30 dirhems et un portier à 20 dirhems; le surplus (*du revenu du waḳf*) sera versé aux indigents de passage et aux voyageurs nécessiteux. Que tout cela dure à jamais, selon les conditions fixées dans l'acte de constitution de son waḳf!—(*La construction*) a été dirigée par celui qui a besoin de Dieu, Bektāsh fils de 'Abd Allāh, majordome de Ḥusām al-Dīn (*Lādjin*): il a fait commencer le travail (Dieu veuille l'en récompenser!) le 5 Ṣafar 690 (7 février 1291 A.D.) et ce linteau (Dieu veuille le bénir!) a été mis en place le 12 Rabī' II de l'année susdite (14 avril 1291 A.D.).—Que Dieu bénisse Mahomet!

Ce texte est parfaitement clair et ne nécessite aucun commentaire spécial: il en ressort que le monument s'identifie au "caravansérail de Lādjin" que les auteurs du temps des Mamelouks<sup>11</sup> placent dans la région.

La citerne mentionnée par l'inscription existe encore, mais elle est effectivement située en dehors du caravansérail, à une trentaine de mètres de sa porte. Le réservoir, souterrain, est abrité par un édicule à coupole,<sup>12</sup> d'un type inusité,<sup>13</sup> dont l'éclairage est assuré par des trous ménagés dans la calotte. Les caractères de ses maçonneries montrent qu'il est bien contemporain du caravansérail.

#### KHĀN EL-AḤMAR<sup>14</sup>

Caravansérail abandonné, près de la gare du chemin de fer de Baisān (Palestine).

La documentation dont on dispose sur cet édifice se trouvant dispersée dans plusieurs ouvrages, je pense bien faire en la résumant ici.

Bâtiment de 82 m. x 71 m., avec cour centrale, au milieu de laquelle un édicule abritait un bassin. Galerie périphérique voûtée d'arêtes, les voûtes retombant sur des piliers rectangulaires accolés aux parois. Dans le couloir d'entrée, deux escaliers donnant accès à l'étage.<sup>15</sup>—Par ses dimensions et par le mode de construction de sa galerie, cet édifice se distingue des caravansérails présentés jusqu'ici: il s'apparente au contraire à la majorité des caravansérails mamelouks du XIV<sup>e</sup> s. que je décrirai ci-dessous.

L'inscription<sup>16</sup> est ainsi conçue:

<sup>11</sup> R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), p. 277; M. Godefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1923), p. 244.

<sup>12</sup> C'est le "dilapidated shrine" signalé par Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 225 (*ibid.*: "a half demolished khan and a capacious cistern." Cette rubrique s'applique en réalité à ce même caravansérail, qui se trouve mentionné deux fois). Cet auteur et A. Poidebard, *Trace de Rome* (Paris, 1934), p. 39 en bas, présentent l'édifice comme étant construit en matériaux antiques remployés: il n'y a absolument rien à retenir de cette indication, les dimensions et l'aspect des blocs—sur lesquels elle se fonde—étant en tous points conformes à l'usage du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Une telle erreur est habituelle chez les auteurs peu famili-

arisés avec l'architecture syrienne du Moyen-Age.

<sup>13</sup> Je ne connais pas d'autre exemple syrien d'une pareille disposition (plan carré à l'extérieur, circulaire à l'intérieur, la coupole prenant naissance au niveau même du sol).

<sup>14</sup> Sur l'origine de cette dénomination, v. L. A. Mayer, "The Name of Khān el Aḥmar, Beisān," *Quart. Depart. Antiquities in Palestine*, I (1931-32), 95-96.

<sup>15</sup> Description et plan ap., C. R. Conder, *Survey of Western Palestine* (London, 1881-83), II, 120.

<sup>16</sup> J. A. Jaussen, "Inscription arabe du Khān al-Aḥmar à Beisān," *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale*, XXII (1923), 99-103; et G. Wiet, *Cat. général du Musée Arabe: Objets en cuivre* (Caire, 1932), pp. 92-93.



Le serviteur qui a besoin du Tout-Puissant, qui espère le pardon de son Seigneur, Salâr fils de 'Abd Allâh, serviteur d'al-Malik al-Nâsir et d'al-Malik al-Mansûr, gouverneur-général de toutes les provinces musulmanes (Dieu veuille glorifier ses victoires!) a ordonné de fonder ce caravansérail (Dieu veuille le bénir!): il en a fait un waḳf perpétuel et une fondation d'usage gratuit<sup>17</sup> au profit de tous les passants, quels qu'ils soient, dans le désir de plaire au Très-Haut et pour rechercher Son agrément: que le Très-Haut accepte de lui cette bonne œuvre! Et cela le premier jour de Djumādâ I 708 (17 octobre 1308 A.D.), sous la direction de celui qui a besoin du Très-Haut: Saif al-Dîn Bakta-mur, son lieutenant à Damas (Dieu veuille la garder!), et sous la direction technique<sup>18</sup> de celui qui a besoin du Très-Haut: Nâsir fils de Yûsuf.

#### 9. SHAḲḲAB<sup>19</sup>

Caravansérail à cour centrale et galerie périphérique, ruiné et envahi par les maisons d'habitation à un point tel qu'on ne peut reconnaître le détail de son agencement. Sur le linteau, inscription (de fondation?):<sup>20</sup>

..... [هذا] الخان المبارك للسبيل للعبد الفقير الى ربه القدير تنكز بن عبد الله الناصري سنة ست عشر  
وسد[عبائة]...

..... Le serviteur qui a besoin de son Seigneur le Tout-Puissant, Tankiz fils de 'Abd Allâh, serviteur d'al-Malik al-Nâsir . . . ce caravansérail (Dieu veuille le bénir!) pour l'usage gratuit, en l'année 716 (1316-1317 A.D.)

#### 10. EL-BREIDJ<sup>21</sup>

Caravansérail en ruines, dans le village (*Fig. 9*).

Bâtiment carré de 51 m. de côté, à cour centrale et galerie périphérique voûtée en berceau (*Fig. 3*). Porte ménagée dans un avant-corps couvert par un arc qui dissimulait sans doute à l'origine un mâchicoulis; couloir d'entrée flanqué de deux pièces voûtées en arc de cloître. Dans l'angle Nord-Ouest, restes d'une tour antique munie de meurtrières et accessible par une grande baie en plein cintre.<sup>22</sup> A l'angle Sud-Ouest de la construction est accolée une petite salle carrée couverte par une coupole, dont une fenêtre surmonte une fontaine qui déverse son eau dans un sarcophage antique déposé contre la façade:<sup>23</sup> c'est là très certainement "le petit château d'eau" (*el-Kusaïṭil*) auquel la localité doit l'un des noms sous lesquels elle était connue autrefois.<sup>24</sup> À côté de la fontaine s'ouvre un portail couvert par un arc trilobé (*Fig. 10*):

<sup>17</sup> *Sabbalahu*.

<sup>18</sup> *Handaza (sic)*.

<sup>19</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

<sup>20</sup> Dim.: 3 m.20 x 0 m.40; neskhi mamelouk, grands caractères; quelques fleurons. Copie (1930). Cf. L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933), p. 220.

<sup>21</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-78.

<sup>22</sup> La largeur de cette baie et l'absence de meurtrières dans la paroi Ouest de la salle montrent que cet ouvrage n'était pas isolé: peut-être était-ce l'une des tours d'angles d'un petit château. C'est évidemment cette ruine qui

est l'origine du nom de la localité (*el-Bureidj* = "la tourelle").

<sup>23</sup> Tous les voyageurs ont signalé ce sarcophage, certains (p. ex. Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 221) ont même vu les matériaux antiques remployés dans la façade, mais aucun n'a daigné mentionner l'inscription arabe ou pénétrer dans l'édifice.

<sup>24</sup> J. de Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* . . . (Paris, 1665), p. 445; J. G[reen], *Journey from Aleppo to Damascus* (Londres, 1736), p. 35. Ce nom ne saurait être antérieur à la fondation de la fontaine,



l'usage s'opposant (pour des raisons de sécurité) à ce qu'un caravansérail soit pourvu de plusieurs entrées, il faut y reconnaître la porte d'une mosquée, aujourd'hui disparue, disposée de telle sorte qu'elle pût être utilisée à la fois par les usagers du caravansérail et par la population du village. On a d'autres exemples d'un tel agencement;<sup>25</sup> on sait d'autre part que l'association d'une mosquée et d'une fontaine publique est usuelle au temps des Mamelouks (date approximative indiquée par les caractères de l'architecture de l'ensemble); enfin un texte épigraphique sculpté sur le linteau de l'une des fenêtres de la fontaine (*Fig. 11*)<sup>26</sup> apporte une indication en ce sens:

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ. (2) أَمْرٌ بَانْشَاءَ هَذَا السَّبِيلَ الْمُبَارَكَ سَيِّدُنَا وَمَوْلَانَا الْعَبْدَ الْفَقِيرَ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ رَبِّهِ (3) الْقَدِيرِ قَاضٍ الْقَضَاةَ حَاكِمَ الْحُكَّامِ مُفْتًى الْأَنَامِ رَكْنَ الْإِسْلَامِ بَدْرُ (؟) مِصْرَ وَالشَّامِ نَجْمُ الدِّينِ شَيْخُ شَيْوُخِ (4) الْعَارَفِينَ أَبُو الْعَبَّاسِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ صِاصِرٍ التَّغْلِبِيُّ الشَّافِعِيُّ الْحَاكِمُ بِالشَّامِ الْكَرُوسِ وَوَأَنْفَ (؟) فَرَاغَهُ مُسْتَهْلَ رَمَضَانَ الْمُبَارَكَ سَنَةِ [؟] عَشْرِينَ (؟) وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Misériordieux. Que Dieu bénisse notre seigneur Mahomet, sa famille et ses compagnons, et les salue.—Notre maître et seigneur, le serviteur qui a besoin de la miséricorde de son Seigneur Tout-Puissant, le cadi suprême, le juge suprême, le mufti de l'humanité, la pierre angulaire de l'Islam, la pleine lune (?) de l'Égypte et de la Syrie, *Nadīm al-Dīn*, le shaikh suprême de ceux qui connaissent Dieu, *Abu l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ṣaṣrā al-Taḡhlībī*, le chaféïte, juge de Damas (Dieu veuille la garder!) a ordonné de fonder cette fontaine (Dieu veuille la bénir!) dont l'achèvement a coïncidé avec le début du mois béni de Ramaḍān, en l'année 720 (octobre 1320 A.D.)

*Ibn Ṣaṣrā*, nommé en 702 (1302–3 A.D.) grand-cadi chaféïte de Damas, mourut dans cette ville le 16 Rabī' I 723 (10 mars 1323 A.D.);<sup>27</sup> c'est donc dans l'intervalle que se place l'aménagement de la fontaine: la date précise que j'ai cru lire sur la pierre demeure conjecturale.

Or un auteur de l'époque<sup>28</sup> note: "El-Breidj était un lieu redouté, fréquenté par les voleurs de grand chemin. Feu le cadi suprême *Nadīm al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ṣaṣrā* y

puisque l'endroit était anciennement appelé *Buraidj al-'aṭaṣh*, "la tourelle de la soif" (*al-'Umarī, Ta'rīf* [Caire, 1312 H.], p. 193). D'autres dénominations énumérées ap. M. Bianchi, *Itinéraire de Constantinople à la Mecque, Rec. de Voyages et Mém. Soc. Géogr. Paris*, 1825, p. 30, où *Brndj* doit être corrigé en *Burayḍj*. Cette profusion d'appellations appliquées à un seul et même village explique la confusion de Guillaume de l'Isle, qui porte à la fois sur sa carte "el Bouraidge ou Boragh," "Cassoitel" et "Kan Setel," ce dernier nom n'étant—comme l'a bien vu Dussaud à propos d'un autre toponyme (*Dussaud, op. cit.*, p. 278, No. 2)—que celui d'el-Ḳosaïtel prononcé à

la manière de Damas (*el-'sēṭel*).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. J. Sauvaget, "Les Caravansérails syriens du *Ḥaḍḍij* de Constantinople," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), 118, No. 8, et 119, No. 9.

<sup>26</sup> Dimensions: 1 m.15 x 0 m.38; quatre lignes en neskhi très rustique, sans points diacritiques; fruste par endroits. Copie (1930) et photographie.

<sup>27</sup> G. Wiet, *Les Biographies du Manḥal Ṣāfī. Mém. prés. à l'Institut. d'Égypte*, XIX (1932), No. 260.

<sup>28</sup> *al-'Umarī, op. cit.*, p. 193; copié par *Ḳalkaṣḥandī* (*Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit.*, p. 245).

construisit *une mosquée et un bassin*, et fit amener dans ce bassin l'eau d'un bien-fonds<sup>29</sup> qu'il possédait à cet endroit et qu'il constitua waḳf dans un but pieux. Il mit la sécurité où était la crainte, et la vie sociale où était la sauvage solitude: que Dieu l'en récompense!"—On voit que ce texte confirme l'interprétation que j'avais tirée de l'existence du portail voisin de la fontaine. Mais en même temps on ne saurait admettre que la construction d'une mosquée ait suffi à mettre "la sécurité où était la crainte": il faut donc attribuer au cadi Ibn Ṣaṣrāl l'édification du caravansérail lui-même, et cette conclusion est corroborée par les caractères architecturaux du monument, qui montrent qu'il est bien venu d'un seul jet, que ses différents éléments sont effectivement contemporains les uns des autres.

## II. KHĀN EL-'ASAL<sup>30</sup>

C'est une ancienne carrière qui a été aménagée en caravansérail, dans le village de ce nom. La nécessité de s'accommoder à un cadre donné a entraîné certaines anomalies dans la disposition de l'édifice, notamment la médiocrité des dimensions et l'asymétrie du plan (*Fig. 4*). C'est le roc, soutenu, habillé ou complété par des maçonneries en pierre de taille, qui forme la clôture, et le plafond de la galerie, et même à certains endroits sa paroi antérieure. L'entrée seule est entièrement maçonnée; elle est protégée par un trou d'assommoir ménagé au sommet de l'arc bandé sur les piédroits du portail; deux petites pièces (une seule a subsisté) la flanquaient, et elle était surmontée d'une salle dont il ne reste plus que la façade (*Fig. 12*).—On notera qu'ici la galerie est pourvue d'alvéoles, au sol surélevé, dans lesquelles prenaient place les voyageurs (*Fig. 13*).

La porte est surmontée de deux inscriptions. La plus ancienne en date, qui s'accompagne de deux blasons, est sculptée dans un cadre ménagé en creux dans une assise courante de la maçonnerie:<sup>31</sup>

Son Altesse très noble et auguste Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā, chambellan de la province d'Alep (que Dieu glorifie sa victoire!) a restauré ce caravansérail (Dieu veuille le bénir!) après qu'il fût devenu inutilisable. L'achèvement eut lieu au mois de Rabī' II, en l'année 744 (août-septembre 1343 A.D.).

Le second texte (*Fig. 14*)<sup>32</sup> est sculpté en surcharge sur les claveaux du portail:

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . (2) فِي أَيَّامِ الدَّوْلَةِ الْعَادِلَةِ (sic) مولانا السلطان الأعظم مالك البرّين والبحرّين (3) سلطان سليمان

خان خلّد الله سلطنته جدّد في هذا الخان المبارك بع ..... (4) هـ ..... (4) كان لازم التعبير العبد الفقير

شيخ حمد بن مولانا شيخ الاسلام عمر المرعشي (5) في سنة احدى و سبعين و تسعمائة تقبّل الله تعالى

<sup>29</sup> Les éditeurs de *Kalkaşhandī* ont lu ce mot *milk* ou *mark*, ce qui donne un sens ("bois" ou "prise d'eau") qui ne convient pas au caractère géographique de la région. Je lis *mulk*.

<sup>30</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 220. Photographies anciennes, cf. K. Müller, *Die Karawanserai im Vorderen Orient* (Vi-

enne, 1923), Pl. I.

<sup>31</sup> Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 169; correct. dans J. Sauvaget, "L'Armorial sarrazin," *Bull. d'études orientales*, II (1932), 277.

<sup>32</sup> Sans cadre. Dim. approxim. du champ épigraphique: 1m.80 x 0m.50. Cinq lignes en neskhi ottoman moy-

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux.—Au temps du règne plein d'équité de notre maître le plus grand sultan, le souverain des deux continents et des deux mers, le sultan Sulaimān-Khān (que Dieu fasse durer son pouvoir!), le serviteur qui a besoin (*de Dieu*), Shaikh Muḥammad, fils de notre maître le Shaikh al-Islām 'Umar al-Mar'ashī,<sup>33</sup> a restauré dans ce caravansérail (Dieu veuille le bénir!) . . . ce qui avait besoin d'être réparé, en l'année 971 (1563–64 A.D.): que le Très-Haut accepte (*de lui*) cette offrande!

Les seules parties de l'édifice qu'on puisse mettre en rapport avec cette dernière inscription sont un contrefort accolé à la façade et quelques reprises de maçonneries. Tout le reste de la bâtisse, d'une homogénéité parfaite, a été élevé d'un seul jet, à une date que les procédés de taille, d'appareillage et de construction fixent au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> s. Comme d'autre part l'inscription de 1343 a évidemment été mise en place pendant la construction même de la façade, on acquiert la certitude que le caravansérail doit son aspect actuel aux travaux du chambellan Mūsā, qui affectent ainsi l'importance d'une véritable fondation: sans doute les caravanes s'installaient-elles jusque-là dans une carrière abandonnée qui n'avait fait l'objet d'aucun aménagement spécial.<sup>34</sup>

## 12. KHĀN SHAIKHŪN<sup>35</sup>

Dans le village du même nom, caravansérail désaffecté qui abrite aujourd'hui la mosquée, le sūkh et l'école de la localité: leur installation a nécessité de nombreuses constructions parasites qui rendent impossible le levé d'un plan précis.

Il est clair toutefois que l'édifice (*Fig. 5*) se ramène au type de Khān el-Aḥmar, sur une échelle plus petite (52 m. 50 x 46 m. 60) (*Fig. 15*): ici encore les voûtes d'arêtes qui couvrent la galerie reposent sur des piliers engagés dans la maçonnerie des parois. La porte, que surmontait autrefois un corps de bâtiment qui assurait sa défense,<sup>36</sup> a été remaniée aux XVIII<sup>e</sup> s., puis murée. Ces travaux ont fait disparaître l'inscription du linteau—"une pierre de marbre de 6 pans de long sur 3 de large, où sont gravées six lignes de caractères arabes, et aux deux côtés sont deux pierres rondes, aussi de marbre, à chacune desquelles est gravé un calice couvert de sa patène, fort bien fait"<sup>37</sup>—dont la longueur et la position suffisent à établir qu'elle commémorait la fondation du caravansérail.

ens car. Copie (1929) et photographie.

<sup>33</sup> Si ces deux personnages sont ceux qui sont mentionnés par R. Ṭabbākh, *I'lām al-mubālā'* (Alep, 1923–26), VI, 200 et 318, sous les noms de 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-'Araḍī et Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-'Araḍī, les dates données comme celles de leur décès seraient trop basses.

<sup>34</sup> Pour d'autres exemples de caravansérails aménagés dans des carrières, cf. *infra*, Nos. 31 et 93.

<sup>35</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.* indices.

<sup>36</sup> J. de Thévenot, *Suite du voyage de M. de Thévenot au Levant* (3<sup>e</sup> éd.; Amsterdam, 1727), p. 97; J. G[reen], *op. cit.*, p. 27: "and has before it a tower, which served for a castle, commanded by an agha"; E.

Chantre, "De Beyrouth à Tiflis," *Le Tour du Monde*, II (1889), 216: "Un superbe khan . . . formé de deux cours intérieures [la cour antérieure est celle du caravansérail ottoman construit devant la façade du monument médiéval: v. Sauvaget, "Les Caravansérails syriens du Hādjīdj de Constantinople," p. 112, No. 37.] au centre desquelles est une tour de style arabe." L'écroulement de cette salle haute doit être récent: elle figurait encore sur des cartes postales que j'ai vues dans le commerce à Beyrouth en 1924.

<sup>37</sup> Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, p. 447.



Mais les “deux calices couverts de leur patène” ont été conservés, et replacés dans les maçonneries modernes de la façade, où on les voit encore. Ce sont deux exemplaires d’un même blason qui correspond bien à la description citée: un disque dont le champ médian est meublé d’une coupe (*Fig. 16*).

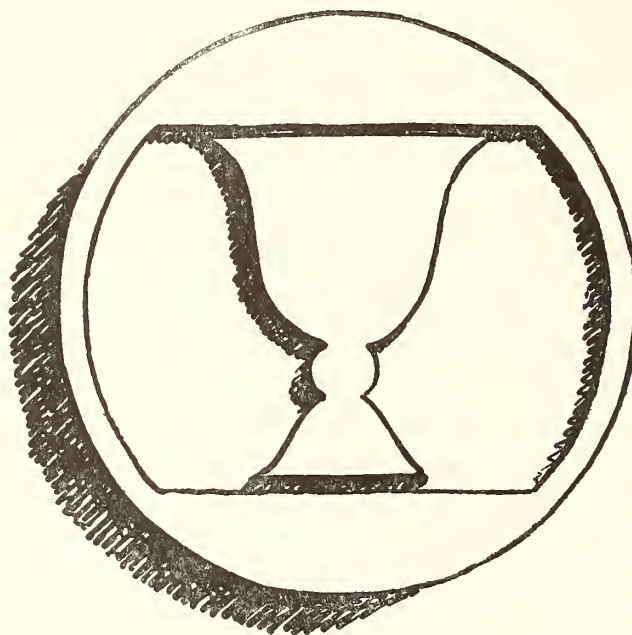


FIG. 16—KHĀN SHAIKHŪN: LES BLASONS (D'APRÈS UN CROQUIS DE M. CL. LE COEUR)

Parmi les nombreux émirs mamelouks qui ont porté ces armoiries, il en est un dont le nom se retrouve précisément dans celui de la localité: Shaikhūn (ou Shaikhū) al-‘Umarī, qui joua un rôle important en Égypte au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>38</sup> C’est à cette même date que reportent les caractères de la construction.—Ces indices (blason, toponyme, qualité de l’appareil), en se recoupant, permettent d’attribuer le monument à l’émir Shaikhūn avec les plus grandes chances d’exactitude.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Wiet, *op. cit.*, No. 1181; sur son blason, Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 202 sq.

<sup>39</sup> Le nom du village, dérivé de celui du monument, établit l’origine relativement récente de la localité, qui se sera constituée autour du caravansérail (cf. Khān Yūnus, près de Ghazza; Khān Tūmān, notre No. 4; Khān el-Sebil, *infra* No. 15). Nous savons en effet par les anciens voyageurs que celui-ci est demeuré isolé jusqu’au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Thévenot, *Suite du voyage*, p. 96: “ce khan, qui est tout seul . . .”; *Voyage de M. des Mousseaux*,

p. 423: “Khan Kheron sans aucune habitation”; J. G[reen], *op. cit.*, p. 27: “Sheikhun Khan . . . standing alone in the open field”; F. F. von Troilo, *Orientalistische Reise-Beschreibung* [Dresden, 1676], p. 601: “auf einem zerstörten und ganz wüsten Ort, Sechun genannt, allwo nichts mehr als ein Wirthshaus”): le rapport envisagé par Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 210 et 238, entre la dénomination actuelle et l’assyrien *Ashkhani* ne peut donc être que fortuit.



## 13. KĀDAS

A 2 km. au Nord-Est du village de Tell Nebi-Mendo, qui occupe le site de la Kadesh hittite,<sup>40</sup> moulin établi sur une dérivation de l'Oronte: il conserve le nom antique de la localité (*ṭāḥūnat Kadas*)<sup>41</sup> et est construit sur l'emplacement d'un caravansérail démoli.

Son soubassement et les montants de sa porte sont en effet formés de gros blocs de calcaire et de basalte arrachés (les caractères de la taille en font foi) à quelque construction médiévale (*Fig. 17*); le linteau est formé d'une inscription arabe martelée accompagnée de 5 blasons mamelouks (*Fig. 19*).<sup>42</sup> Un tel document n'est pas à sa place sur la façade d'un moulin. Son poids et celui des blocs composant la base du mur n'étant pas conciliables avec l'hypothèse d'un transport à longue distance, il faut admettre que le moulin a été construit à l'aide de matériaux pris à une ruine voisine: un caravansérail, assurément.<sup>43</sup> La mutilation qu'on a fait subir au linteau confirme dans une certaine mesure cette opinion: le procédé le plus courant pour dissimuler l'usurpation d'une fondation pieuse n'est-il pas précisément le martelage de l'inscription qui en révélait la destination première, et la qualité de waḳf?

Le moulin est parfois désigné sous le nom de *Ṭāḥūnat al-Bandjakiyé*. Or le blason de l'inscription (disque divisé en trois champs horizontaux; le champ médian meublé d'un sabre) est celui de l'émir Saïf al-Dīn *Mandjak*, qui gouverna successivement les provinces de Tripoli et de Damas au cours du XIV<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>44</sup> On peut croire sans invraisemblance que la dénomination attachée au moulin rappelle (sous une forme à peine altérée par une déformation phonétique courante dans la région)<sup>45</sup> le souvenir du fondateur du monument auquel a été enlevé le linteau. La construction du caravansérail de Kadas se placerait ainsi autour de la date moyenne de 1364 A.D.

## 14. ḤASYĀ

Dans le caravansérail ottoman,<sup>46</sup> vestiges d'un édifice antérieur: un grand arc brisé et *ou-trepasé*, dépouillé de la maçonnerie dans laquelle il était autrefois encastré (*Fig. 18*); sans le moindre doute c'est l'encadrement de l'une de ces larges baies qui, dans les caravansérails, font communiquer la galerie périphérique et la cour centrale.—Son profil caractéristique accuse la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> s. ou le début du XV<sup>e</sup> s.

Une source de bien peu postérieure à la date que je viens d'indiquer<sup>47</sup> mentionne la lo-

<sup>40</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 106 sq.

<sup>41</sup> M. van Berchem, "Inscripfen aus Syrien," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VII (1909), No. 1.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Seul un caravansérail peut trouver sa place logique dans cet endroit désert et marécageux. Son site aurait naturellement été déterminé par l'existence en ce point d'un pont (cf. Nos. 21 et 22, et Sauvaget, "Les Caravansérails syriens du Ḥadjdj de Constantinople," p. 108, No. 4, et 110, No. 6) qui a d'ailleurs laissé des vestiges.

<sup>44</sup> Wiet, *op. cit.*, No. 2535; son blason ap. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>45</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 152, n. 1, et 173, n. 6. Même déformation du nom à Hama: J. Gaulmier, "Pèlerinages populaires," *Bull. d'études orientales*, I (1931), 149, No. 23.

<sup>46</sup> Sauvaget, *op. cit.*, p. 111, No. 7.

<sup>47</sup> H. Devonshire, tr., "Relation d'un voyage du Sultan Qâitbây en Palestine et en Syrie," *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale*, XX (1922), 23.

calité en ces termes: "Ḥasyā,<sup>48</sup> village constitué waḳf par Mandjak, où il y a un caravansérail." Comme le précédent et le suivant, le monument serait donc l'œuvre de cet émir.

#### 15. KHĀN EL-SEBĪL

Dans le village du même nom,<sup>49</sup> caravansérail en bon état de conservation,<sup>50</sup> occupé par un poste de gendarmerie.

Bâtiment carré de 36 m. de côté, avec galerie couverte se développant sur trois faces de la cour centrale; sur la quatrième, en façade, deux pièces flanquant le couloir d'entrée, dont l'une, pourvue d'un miḥrāb, servant d'oratoire (*Fig. 7*).—Deux particularités sont à noter: l'existence aux quatre angles de contreforts (trois sont polygonaux et pleins sur toute leur hauteur; le quatrième est cylindrique et abrite à l'étage une latrine);<sup>51</sup> le type de la voute de la galerie (berceau avec pénétration d'éléments de berceaux transversaux reposant sur des piliers. *Fig. 22*). Sous la galerie, des anneaux de pierre destinés à attacher les bêtes sont scellés aux parois.

La salle haute surmontant l'entrée s'est conservée presque intacte. Les autres moyens de défense, s'ils sont plus mutilés, ont laissé du moins des vestiges assez explicites pour que leur restitution ne se heurte à aucune incertitude.

Tout autour de la terrasse se développait un parapet crénelé (*Fig. 25*), percé à sa base de petites archères disposées tantôt normalement au mur d'enceinte, tantôt obliquement pour permettre des tirs de flanquement. À intervalles réguliers ces archères cédaient la place à des bretèches à mâchicoulis, composées d'un toit de pierre reposant sur deux consoles en encorbellement; chaque contrefort était pourvu d'une bretèche.

La salle haute, carrée et voûtée d'arêtes, est percée d'une baie sur chacune de ses faces: la porte, et trois petites fenêtres d'où l'on domine et surveille la campagne environnante. Trois de ces baies (celles qui ouvrent en façade et sur la terrasse) sont surmontées chacune d'un mâchicoulis qui en interdit l'approche (*Fig. 21*): il faut donc restituer au sommet de cette salle un parapet crénelé abritant les défenseurs postés à ces mâchicoulis. Le corps de bâtiment offrait ainsi l'aspect d'une tour fortifiée (*Fig. 20*). De cette même salle on commandait la porte d'entrée au moyen d'un trou d'assommoir traversant la voute du portail (*Fig. 21*).

Une remarque s'impose. Ces mâchicoulis sont d'une taille fort exigüe: l'orifice du parapet à travers lequel les projectiles étaient basculées dans le vide ne mesure que 0 m. 35 x 0 m. 45. C'est à dire qu'ils étaient destinés à laisser passage non pas à des objets volumineux tels que ceux que l'on imagine à l'ordinaire (pierres, etc.) mais à *des grenades de "feu grégeois"*: à

<sup>48</sup> Le texte arabe donne le nom sous la forme *Ḥamā*, par confusion avec la ville syrienne bien connue. La correction en *Ḥasyā*, qui ne soulève aucune difficulté, est imposée par la place du village dans l'itinéraire.

<sup>49</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, carte X, B3 (*Sebil*).

<sup>50</sup> Le Service des Antiquités l'a pris sous sa protection en raison de son intérêt documentaire.

<sup>51</sup> Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*,

p. 447: "Han Merey, bâti en forme de château, ayant aux quatre coins quatre tours, trois carrées et une ronde." Ce détail assure l'identification du bâtiment (cf. J. G[reen], *op. cit.*, p. 23: "Merai"; Thévenot, *Suite du voyage de M. Thévenot au Levant*, III, 100: "Merai"; carte de Guillaume de l'Isle: "Merai"; ces deux formes de la dénomination transcrivent assez exactement un nom de personne d'un usage fréquent en Syrie: *Mer'i*).





FIG. 1—KHĀN 'AIVĀSH: LE CARAVANSÉRAIL DE LĀDĪN ET SA CITERNE

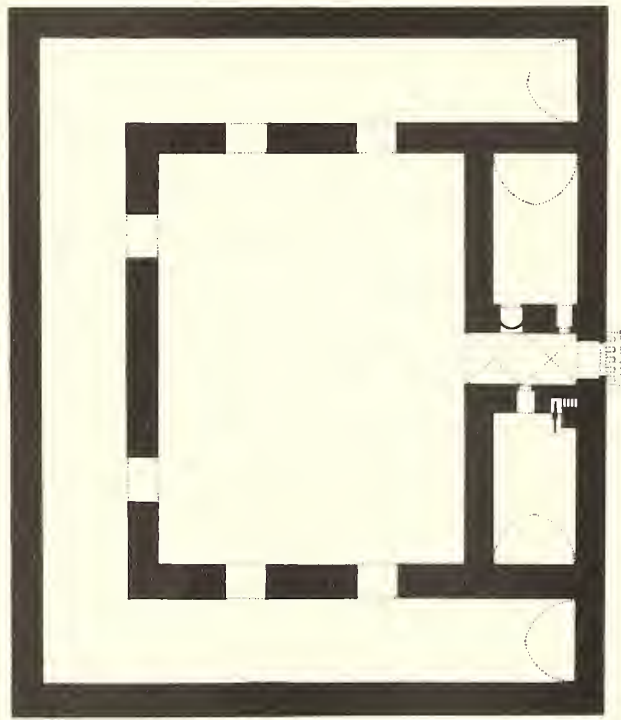


FIG. 2—KHĀN 'AIYĀSH



0 5 10

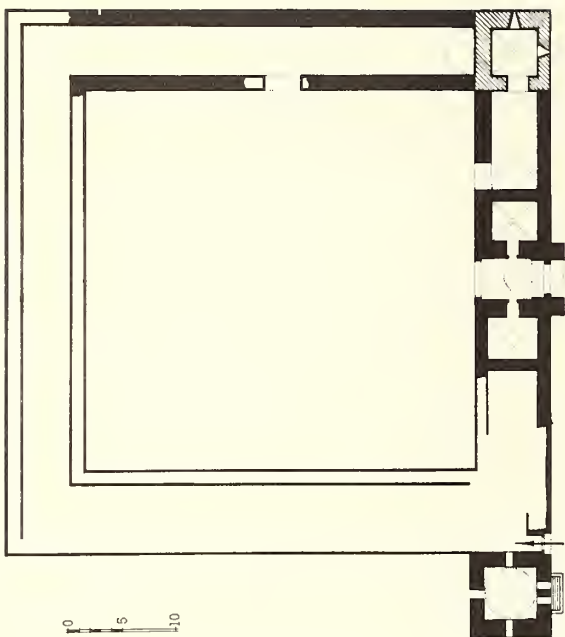


FIG. 3—EL-BREIDJ

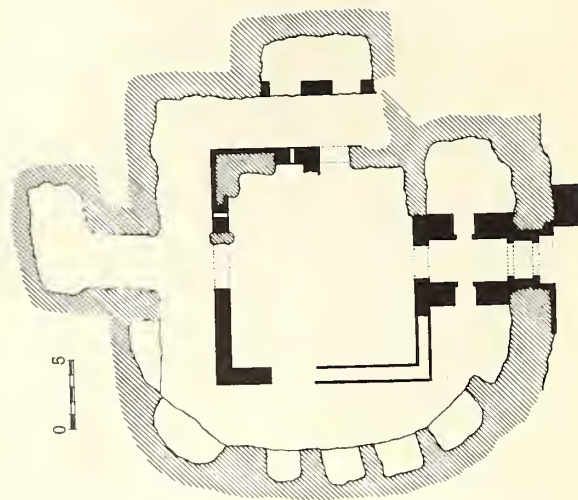


FIG. 4—KHĀN EL-'ASAL

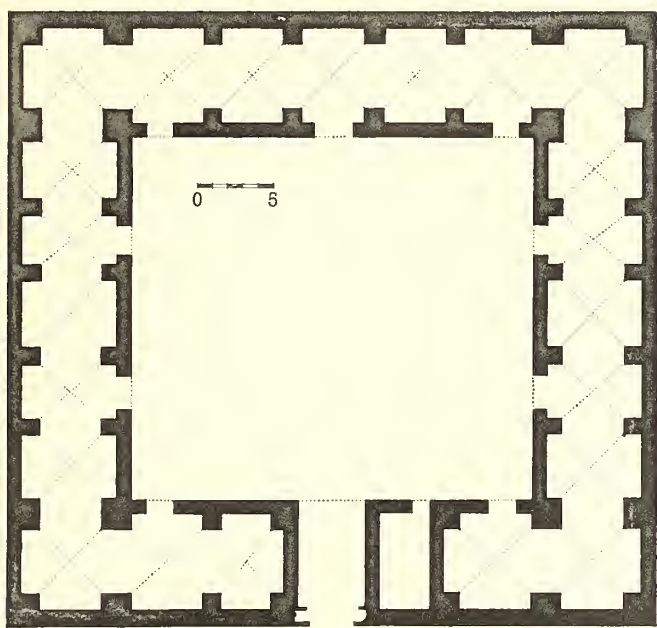


FIG. 5—KHĀN SHAIKHŪN

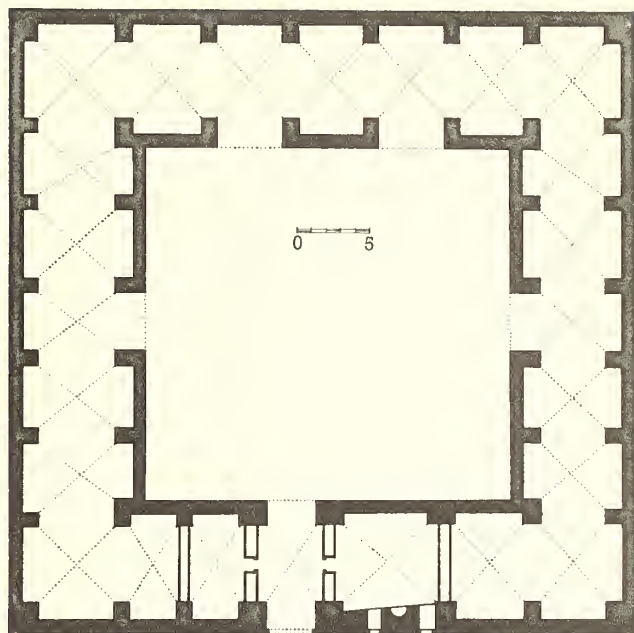


FIG. 6—ORTHOSIE

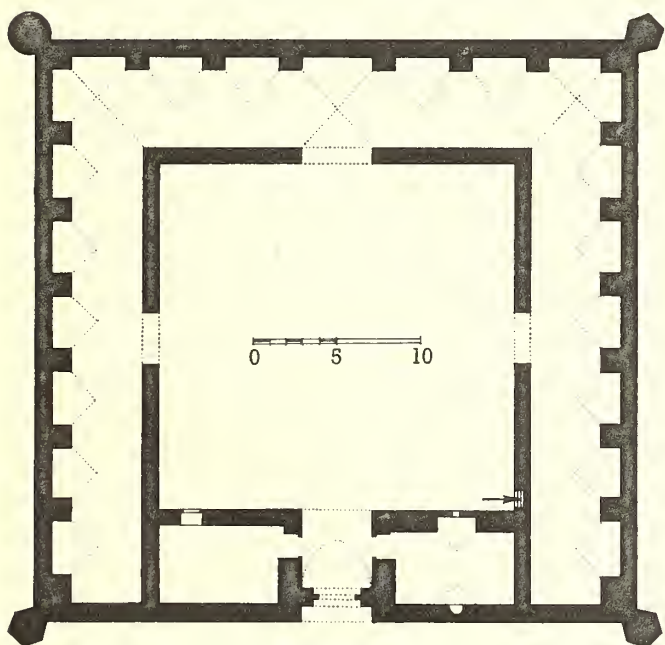


FIG. 7—KHĀN EL-SEBİL

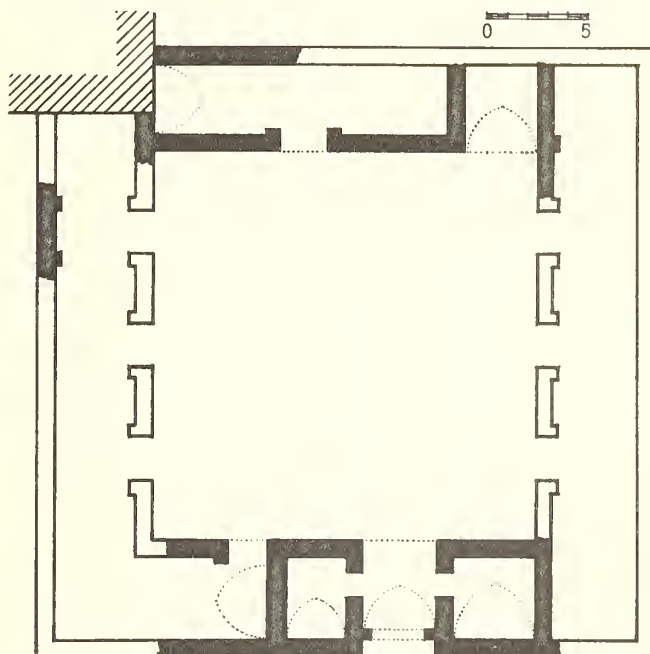


FIG. 8—AL-RUṢĀFA





FIG. 9—EL-BREIDJ : LA FAÇADE DU CARAVANSÉRAIL

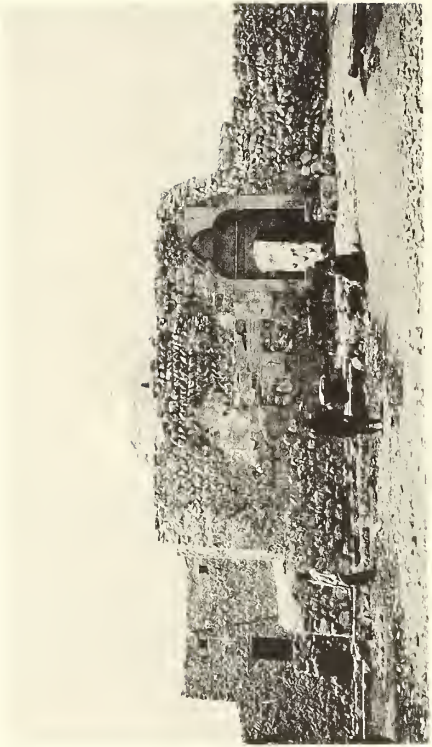


FIG. 10—EL-BREIDJ : LA FONTAINE ET LE PORTAIL  
DE LA MOSQUÉE



FIG. 11—EL-BREIDJ : L'INSCRIPTION DE LA FONTAINE





FIG. 13—KHĀN EL-'ĀSAL: LA COUR



FIG. 15—KHĀN SHAIKHŪN: LA COUR



FIG. 12—KHĀN EL-'ĀSAL: LA FAÇADE



FIG. 14—KHĀN EL-'ĀSAL: LES INSCRIPTIONS DE LA FAÇADE





FIG. 17—ḲADAS: LA PORTE DU MOULIN



FIG. 18—ḤASYĀ: LES RESTES DU CARAVANSÉRAIL



FIG. 19—ḲADAS: LES BLASONS DU LINTEAU



FIG. 20—ḲHĀN EL-SEBĪL: VUE PRISE DU SUD-EST, MONTRANT LES MÂCHICOULIS

peine plus gros que le poing, ces petits vases pouvaient être lancés sans difficulté à travers les ouvertures minuscules du parapet, et la hauteur de chute (5 m.) était suffisante pour que la poterie dont ils étaient faits se brisât en touchant le sol, projetant les éclats et le naphte enflammé. L'écartement des bretèches me paraît même avoir été calculé de telle sorte qu'on pût réaliser de la sorte un véritable tir de barrage, interdisant l'approche du mur.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il faut souligner l'importance de ces défenses: si le nombre des archères ne peut être actuellement précisé, celui des mâchicoulis n'était pas inférieur à *trente-cinq*, dont trente-trois battant l'extérieur de l'édifice.

Une autre caractéristique remarquable de ce caravansérail est le souci d'ornementation dont il témoigne.—C'est surtout en façade que le décor se distribue: claveaux godronnés et moulure vigoureusement profilée à l'arc du portail (*Figs. 21 et 23*); cartouche orné à inscription sur le linteau; motif héraldique (coupe en relief) sur les corbeaux qui soulagent le linteau; décor de basalte noir (encadrement de la baie axiale, bandeau horizontal, consoles des bretèches) dans la maçonnerie de la tour.—En dehors de la façade les éléments décoratifs sont plus rares et plus discrets: moulures ceinturant les contreforts d'angles à leur base et au dessous des bretèches; consoles profilées aux mâchicoulis des contreforts et des faces latérales de la salle haute, blasons inachevés dans le couloir d'entrée, au dessus des portes des salles latérales).—Partout ailleurs la construction, en belle pierre de taille dressée et appareillée avec soin, est de la plus grande simplicité (*Fig. 24*).

De l'ensemble se dégage une impression d'harmonie calme et de force tranquille: plus que tout autre ce caravansérail produit un effet monumental.

Une longue inscription<sup>52</sup> est sculptée sur le linteau de la porte d'entrée. Je n'ai malheureusement pas pu en établir complètement le texte: la hauteur de la pierre, la petitesse et l'enchevêtrement des caractères, l'éclairage défavorable, de nombreuses mutilations ont opposé à mes tentatives répétées des obstacles que je n'ai pu surmonter; en publiant ici cette lecture fragmentaire, je ne puis qu'exprimer le souhait de la voir un jour complétée:

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ. أَمْرٌ بِأَنْشَاءِ هَذَا الْخَانِ السَّيِّدِ (sic) وَعِمَارَةِ هَذَا الْبَيْتِ الْجَزِيدِ ..... فِي الْمَكَانِ ? .....

وَرَسْمَ بَعْمَارَتِهِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانُ الْمَلِكُ الْأَشْرَفُ (2) نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدِ بْنِ شُعْبَانَ بْنِ الْمَلِكِ السَّعِيدِ حَسَامُ الدِّينِ

حُسَيْنُ ابْنِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ السَّعِيدِ (?) الْمَلِكِ النَّاصِرِ نَاصِرِ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدِ بْنِ سَيِّدِ (?) الْمَلِكِ وَالسَّلَاطِينِ مُحَمَّدِ

بْنِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ الشَّهِيدِ الْمَلِكِ الْمَنْصُورِ قَلَاوُونَ الصَّالِحِي خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ سُلْطَانَهُ (3) ..... السَّعِي

<sup>52</sup> Cartouche orné à chaque extrémité. Dim. appr.: 2m.75 x om.50. Quatre lignes en neskhi mamelouk: car. petits et serrés; quelques points et signes. Une cinquième ligne (martelée) au dessous du cartouche. La

fin du texte sur les deux coupes héraldiques qui chargent les corbeaux soulageant le linteau, à droite (l. 6-7) et à gauche (l. 8-9).



على (?) العمارة وتأسيسها واتمامها مولانا ملك الأمراء المقرّ الأشرف السيفي أبي سعيد منجك ابن عبد الله الملكى الأشرفى أعزّ الله نصره وشكر سعيه المبرور وضاعف أجره وبدّل نعمةً جهده و..... له أهله (4) حتى كملت العمارة وتمّت في شهور سنة ثلاث وسبعين وسبعائة والوقف على هذا الخان..... مزرة الملك المتصلة..... على مصالح الخان والحضر للغربي (sic) في هذا..... (5) ..... وذلك..... (6) ..... السيفي شادّ (7) العنائر السعيدة (8) وملعون من يغيروه (sic) أو..... (9)

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux.—Notre maître le sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Nāsir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Shā'bān, fils d'al-Malik al-Sa'id Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusain, fils de notre maître le défunt (?) sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, le seigneur (?) des rois et des sultans, Muḥammad, fils de notre maître le sultan martyr al-Malik al-Mansūr Ḳalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī (Dieu veuille faire durer son pouvoir!) a ordonné la fondation de ce caravansérail gratuit et la construction de cette fondation charitable éminente... et il a ordonné par décret sa construction... Notre maître le roi des émirs, Sa très noble Altesse Saif al-Dīn Abū Sa'id Mandjak fils de 'Abd Allāh, serviteur d'al-Malik al-Ashraf (que Dieu glorifie sa victoire, lui témoigne Sa gratitude de son zèle pieux, double sa récompense, lui accorde Sa grâce en échange de ses efforts, et... sa famille!) a consacré (?) ses soins à la construction, de ses fondations à son achèvement, de telle sorte qu'elle fut terminée en l'année 773 (1371-72 A.D.). Le waḳf constitué en faveur de ce caravansérail... le domaine d'al-T.l.k, attenant... pour l'entretien du caravansérail et les nattes pour les étrangers (*de passage*) dans ce... Et cela... Saif al-Dīn, intendant des constructions (puissent-elles être d'un heureux augure!). Maudit soit quiconque modifiera ce waḳf, ou...

Il ressort de cette inscription que l'édifice, bâti en exécution d'un décret royal par l'intendant des constructions officielles de la province de Syrie,<sup>53</sup> est un caravansérail ouvert gratuitement à tout venant; le nom de la localité (*Khān el-Seḇīl* = "le caravansérail gratuit") prouve que la formation du village n'est pas antérieure à la fondation du monument: sans doute même en est-elle la conséquence directe.<sup>54</sup>

#### 16. SARĀḲEB<sup>55</sup>

Caravansérail en ruines (récemment démoli) près du puits du village: on n'en voit plus que la première assise, à demi-enterrée, du mur d'enceinte et les deux corbeaux de basalte, ornés d'une riche moulure, qui soutenaient le linteau de la porte. Les caractères de ces éléments d'architecture marquaient une construction du XIV<sup>e</sup> s.

<sup>53</sup> Sur ce fonctionnaire et son rôle, v. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Supra*, n. 39. C'est évidemment là le "*Khān* de

Mandjak" signalé par Devonshire, *op. cit.*, p. 21, entre Sermīn et Ma'arrat el-No'mān.

<sup>55</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, s. *Seraikin*.

Un historien<sup>56</sup> apporte une indication chronologique concordante en attribuant à Uzdamur al-'Umarī (mort en 1370 A.D.), gouverneur d'Alep, la fondation du caravansérail de Sarākeb.

#### 17. KHĀN DENNŪN

Isolé dans la campagne à 3 km. au Sud du village d'el-Kiswé.<sup>57</sup>

Grand caravansérail (60 m. de côté), d'une facture très soignée, du même type que les précédents. Particularités: contreforts arrondis raidissant le mur d'enceinte; latrines (peut-être postérieures) en saillie sur la face Est; iwan en face de l'entrée.

#### Inscription:

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux.—Ce caravansérail (Dieu veuille le bénir!) a été fondé sous le règne de notre maître le su[l]tan al-Malik al-Ashraf . . . . Zain al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Sha'bān] . . . . ainsi plaire au Très-Haut. L'achèvement eut lieu en Djūmādā I 778 (septembre-octobre 1376 A.D.).—«Ceux qui dépensent leurs richesses en œuvres agréables à Dieu, sans faire suivre leurs largesses de rappels de leur bienfait ou de mauvais traitements, ceux-là trouveront leur salaire auprès de leur Seigneur: ils ne seront pas inquiétés.»<sup>58</sup>—«Une bonne parole ou un sentiment de pitié valent mieux qu'une aumône suivie de mauvais traitements. Dieu est riche et bienveillant.»<sup>59</sup> La construction a été assurée par 'Alī fils de Badr al-Dīn, architecte de (la province de) Damas.

#### 18. DJEBLÉ<sup>60</sup>

A proximité immédiate du tombeau d'Ibrāhīm b. Adham (vers le Sud-Ouest), restes d'un petit caravansérail, à demi-écroulé, pareil aux précédents<sup>61</sup> si ce n'est qu'il est fait de matériaux antiques remployés. Au dessus de la porte, entre deux consoles de mâchicoulis qui n'occupent plus leur place originelle, inscription:<sup>62</sup>

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ. أَمْرٌ بِأَنْشَاءِ هَذَا الْخَانِ الْمُبَارَكِ الْمُقَرَّرِ الْأَشْرَفِ الْعَالِي الْمَوْلَى الْمَالِكِي الْخُدُومِي الْكَافِي (2) السَّيْفِي  
مَوْلَانَا مَلِكِ الْأُمَرَاءِ أَرْغَوْنَ شَاهِ خَزَنَدَارِ الْمَلِكِي الظَّاهِرِي كَانِلِ الْمَمْلُوكَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ الطَّرَابِلُسِيَّةِ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ  
تَبَرُّعًا مِنَ الْمَنَاءِ وَجَعَلَهُ (3) وَتَقَا لِأَبْنَاءِ السَّبِيلِ أَثَابَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ الثَّوَابِ الْجَزِيلِ مِمَّا تَوَلَّى (?) عِمَارَتَهُ الْفَقِيرُ  
إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى الْجَنَابِ الْفَخْرِي عَثْبَانَ الظَّاهِرِي فِي مُسْتَهْلٍ صَفَرِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَتَسْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir al-Zuhūr* (Caire, 1301-6), I, 225, où l'attribution est sûrement erronée, aucun personnage de ce nom n'ayant été gouverneur d'Alep avant 884 H. (E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanovre, 1927), p. 35).

<sup>57</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 318 et 320. Description détaillée dans *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* (Le Caire, 1935), p. 41 sq.

<sup>58</sup> *Coran*, II, 264.

<sup>59</sup> *Coran*, II, 265.

<sup>60</sup> F. Buhl, "Djabala," *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden, London, 1913), I, 984-85.

<sup>61</sup> Cour centrale, galerie périphérique voutée d'arêtes sur contreforts intérieurs.

<sup>62</sup> Sur marbre. Dim. appr.: 1 m. 90 x 0 m. 30; neskhi mamelouk soigné, moyens car. À chaque angle de la dalle, un blason demeuré vide.



Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux.—Son Altesse très noble, auguste, maîtresse, souveraine, le chef ayant rang de gouverneur-général, Saif al-Dīn, notre maître le roi des émirs Arghūn-Shāh,<sup>63</sup> trésorier d'al-Malik al-Zāhir (*Barḳūk*), gouverneur-général de la province royale de Tripoli (que Dieu glorifie ses victoires!), a ordonné la fondation de ce caravansérail (Dieu veuille le bénir!), comme bonne œuvre spontanée destinée à le préserver de la perdition éternelle, et il en a fait un waḳf au profit des voyageurs: que Dieu lui accorde pour cette bonne action une récompense magnifique! —(*Ceci est*) une des choses dont celui qui a besoin du Très-Haut, Son Excellence Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uṭhmān al-Zāhirī, a dirigé (?) la construction, à la fin de Ṣafar 798 (12 décembre 1396 A.D.).

#### 19. KHĀN ṬŪMĀN

Devant la façade du caravansérail ayyoubide qui a été décrit ci-dessus,<sup>64</sup> vestiges d'un second caravansérail plus récent, accolé au premier: restes de galerie périphérique voûtée d'arêtes, entrée surmontée d'une salle jouant le rôle d'iwan, et fontaine (*Fig. 26*).

On a attribué cet édifice au milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> s. en se basant: d'une part sur une inscription (1062 H.—1652 A.D.)<sup>65</sup> placée sur la face postérieure de la fontaine, d'autre part sur l'existence, dans cette même fontaine, de colonnettes à fût tressé comparables à celles de divers monuments ottomans d'Alep.<sup>66</sup>

Je ne crois pas cette attribution correcte.

Si le texte épigraphique avait commémoré la construction de la fontaine, il aurait été encastré sous la niche même de celle-ci, ou au sommet de sa façade, de telle sorte que chaque usager pût connaître le nom du fondateur.<sup>67</sup> Sa position sur la face postérieure de l'édicule indique *à priori* qu'il ne constitue qu'une surcharge, qu'il se rapporte en définitive à quelque restauration de la conduite d'adduction d'eau. De fait, nous savons qu'un gouverneur ottoman d'Alep—İpshir Muṣṭafā-pasha—fit exécuter d'importants travaux de restauration et de réparation à Khān Ṭūmān . . . Il y amena l'eau de la Source Bénie, située à une distance de 300 coudees; il y construisit un certain nombre de chambres, refit son oratoire et le dalla, et bâtit des boutiques à la porte du caravansérail."<sup>68</sup> Le waḳf constitué par lui pour maintenir ces ouvrages en état de fonctionnement est daté 1064 H.—1654 A.D.: il est donc postérieur de deux ans seulement à l'inscription de la fontaine, et c'est évidemment à ces travaux, dont on retrouve dans le vieux caravansérail des traces indubitables,<sup>69</sup> que celle-ci se rapportait.

La date de construction du bâtiment le plus récent est fixée par un autre document épi-

<sup>63</sup> Wiet, *op. cit.*, No. 371.

<sup>64</sup> Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge," p. 52.

<sup>65</sup> M. van Berchem et E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (Le Caire, 1914), p. 206 (le texte a aujourd'hui disparu).

<sup>66</sup> K. A. C. Cresswell, "Two Khāns at Khān Ṭūmān," *Syria*, IV (1923), 137.

<sup>67</sup> C'est là une règle qui ne comporte aucune exception, au moins en Syrie. L'explication—d'ailleurs évidente—en est donnée par la formule qu'on relève dans certaines inscriptions (p. ex., Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 62; cette phrase

ne figure pas dans l'extrait publié du texte): "Dieu veuille avoir pitié de quiconque, après avoir bu, implorera la miséricorde divine en faveur du fondateur."

<sup>68</sup> K. Ghazzī, *Nahr al-Dhahab* (Alep, 1342 H.), III, 498.

<sup>69</sup> Voûtes d'arêtes et piliers de la galerie Nord; voûtes d'arêtes de l'oratoire; reprises diverses de maçonneries (visibles sur la photographie dans, K. A. C. Cresswell, "Two Khāns at Khān Ṭūmān," *Syria*, IV (1923), Pl. XXVII, E: à gauche, au sommet du mur).

graphique qui est demeuré inaperçu jusqu'ici.<sup>70</sup> Il a perdu sa place originelle et a été remplacé (la tête en bas, comme il convient) dans la façade du vieux caravansérail, au sommet du mur, à droite de la brèche qui marque l'emplacement de la porte:

(1) جُدِّدَ هَذَا الْمَكَانَ فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ أ (2) لِأَشْرَفِ أَبِي النَّصْرِ قَايْتَبَايَ عَزَّ نَصْرُهُ فِي الْحَرَمِ سَنَةَ ثَلَاثٍ وَثَمَانِينَ وَثَمَان مِائَةً

Cet édifice a été restauré sous le règne de notre maître le sultan Abu' l-Naṣr Ḳāitbāy (que Dieu glorifie sa victoire!), en Muḥarram 883 (avril 1478 A.D.).

La date donnée s'accorde trop bien avec les procédés de construction mis en œuvre dans les parties plus récentes de la bâtisse pour qu'on hésite à mettre en relation le texte épigraphique et le monument. Cette opinion n'est pas en contradiction avec le décor de la fontaine, puisque les colonnettes à fût tressé se retrouvent précisément, à Alep, dans le *Ḳaṣr* construit par Ḳāitbāy sur l'entrée de la Citadelle.<sup>71</sup> On retrouve d'ailleurs dans cette même fontaine *la place originelle de l'inscription*.<sup>72</sup>

Ainsi donc le second caravansérail n'est qu'une adjonction faite par Ḳāitbāy, dans le dessein d'agrandir le vieux caravansérail ayyoubide:<sup>73</sup> peut-être ces travaux ont-ils été décidés pendant le bref séjour que le sultan fit à *Khān Ṭūmān* en 882 H. (1477 A.D.).<sup>74</sup>

Les édifices suivants n'ont pu être datés avec précision.

## 20. *DJŪSIYÉ*<sup>75</sup>

Dans le village, restes informes d'un caravansérail médiéval envahis par les maisons d'habitation: on en distingue l'angle Sud-Ouest et un fragment de galerie voûtée; on en suit encore vaguement le quadrilatère (*Fig. 27*). Ces vestiges insignifiants permettent d'autant moins d'assigner une date à la construction qu'ils sont entièrement faits de matériaux de remploi, arrachés à un fortin romain voisin.

## 21. *SHEIKH 'AIYĀSH*<sup>76</sup>

A côté du "weli" qui a donné son nom au hameau, une grande ferme englobe les restes d'un caravansérail (cour centrale de 15 m. env. de côté; galerie périphérique voûtée d'arêtes sur piliers, bien conservée par endroits [*Fig. 28*]) trop mutilés pour qu'ils m'aient paru mériter le levé d'un plan.—Date indiquée par les caractères de la construction: entre 1350 et 1450 A.D.

<sup>70</sup> Dim.: 0 m. 97 x 0 m. 40; nesghi mamelouk évolué; moyens car. Copie (1932).

<sup>71</sup> L'inscription dans M. Sobernheim, "Die arabischen Inschriften von Aleppo," *Der Islam*, XV (1926), 187-88, No. 22.

<sup>72</sup> Cadre au fond de la niche, visible sur la photographie dans Creswell, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI, B: ses dimensions

s'accordent avec celles du bloc qui porte l'inscription.

<sup>73</sup> Mêmes modalités d'agrandissement dans d'autres caravansérails: Sauvaget, "Les Caravansérails syriens du Ḥadjidj de Constantinople," p. 112, n. 37.

<sup>74</sup> Devonshire, *op. cit.*

<sup>75</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>76</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

22. ORTHOSIE<sup>77</sup>

A côté du "tell" d'Orthosie, à l'extrémité d'un pont de fondation médiévale<sup>78</sup> jeté sur le Nahr el-Bāred (*Fig. 29*), caravansérail de 43 m. de côté, à cour centrale (*Fig. 6*) et galerie périphérique voûtée d'arêtes sur contreforts intérieurs (*Fig. 30*). À droite de l'entrée, un oratoire (miḥrāb entre deux fenêtres), dont la présence entraîne la restitution, selon la disposition si souvent rencontrée, de deux pièces flanquant le couloir d'accès.<sup>79</sup>—Date indiquée par les procédés de construction: seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>80</sup>

23. ERḤĀB<sup>81</sup>

Vestiges d'un caravansérail dans le village (baie d'entrée à la galerie périphérique [*Fig. 32*]).—Date indiquée par les caractères de l'appareillage: XIV<sup>e</sup> s.

24. TAIẒĪN<sup>82</sup>

Vestiges de caravansérail (petite pièce rectangulaire avec miḥrāb entre deux fenêtres)<sup>83</sup> dans le village. Date: XIV<sup>e</sup> ou XV<sup>e</sup> s.

## 25. ZENGIYÉ

Ruine à 8 km. du Nord-Ouest du village de Shīḥ el-Ḥadīd, dans un passage resserré entre deux hauteurs appelé *Ḥalebli Gedigi*, "le col de l'Alépin," marquant le site d'un caravansérail<sup>84</sup> de date inconnue.

26. KHĀN EL-SHĪḤ<sup>85</sup>

Petit caravansérail à galerie périphérique, envahi par des maisons d'habitation qui s'opposent à son étude détaillée. Dans la cour, fragment d'inscription provenant du linteau, si dégradé qu'on n'en peut rien déchiffrer: le type des caractères et l'aspect de la maçonnerie indiquent les dernières années du XIII<sup>e</sup> s. ou la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> s.

27. KHĀN EL-RAMBÉ<sup>86</sup>

Dans le village, caravansérail carré à galerie périphérique, envahi par des maisons. Entrée voûtée en berceau, entre deux petites pièces, jadis surmontées "d'une tour carrée ayant

<sup>77</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 78, sq.

<sup>78</sup> Le pont a été refait à l'époque moderne, mais les piles ont conservé quelques assises de maçonnerie médiévale.

<sup>79</sup> Le dispositif de l'entrée a été remanié à une date récente, mais la restitution de son aspect ancien—du moins dans ses lignes générales—est assurée par l'existence d'une mosquée qui devait être un local *clos*.

<sup>80</sup> En tout état de cause, le caravansérail est antérieur au règne de Ḳāitbāy, puisqu'il est mentionné dans Devonshire, tr., *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 220 (Arḥab).

<sup>82</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 225-27 (Tizin).

<sup>83</sup> La disposition du local montre que cet oratoire, loin d'être isolé, faisait partie d'un édifice plus considérable dont il ne reste aucun autre vestige: le caractère de la localité et les dimensions de la mosquée indiquent suffisamment que c'était un caravansérail.

<sup>84</sup> Je n'ai jamais pu y accéder personnellement, malgré plusieurs tentatives successives: les renseignements que je reproduis ici m'ont été aimablement communiqués par le Capitaine Favriou, conseiller administratif du caza de Kirik-Khan.

<sup>85</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 315 et 321.

<sup>86</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, s. Oreiniba (forme ancienne de la dénomination).



quatre fenêtres, à la manière de nos clochers.”<sup>87</sup> Un remaniement récent a fait disparaître l’inscription du linteau, mais les caractères de la construction placent la date dans les limites du XIV<sup>e</sup> s.

### 28. MARḲIYÉ<sup>88</sup>

Sur la plage de Maraclée, à une cinquantaine de mètres de la mer, ruine informe de 25 m. env. de côté: de bons juges,<sup>89</sup> qui l’ont vue dans un état de dégradation moins avancée, y ont reconnu un caravansérail. L’épaisseur des maçonneries est un indice de son origine médiévale: je ne puis serrer la date de plus près.

### 29. ḲAL‘AT DJA‘BAR<sup>90</sup>

Dans les ruines de la ville basse, au pied et au Nord-Ouest de la Citadelle, petit caravansérail enseveli sous les décombres. Murailles en moellons; voutes (berceau) en briques appareillées *par tranches* au dessus du joint de rupture. Date: ?

### 30. AL-RUṢĀFA<sup>91</sup>

Caravansérail en ruines appuyé à l’angle Sud-Est de “l’église extra-muros.” Cour centrale; galerie périphérique voûtée en berceau et interrompue par un iwān; entrée flanquée de deux pièces (*Fig. 8*). Portail en pierre de taille; le reste de la construction en blocage enduit de plâtre. Date indéterminée (XIV<sup>e</sup> s. ?).

### 31. UḍḂĤI<sup>92</sup>

Dans le village, caravansérail aménagé dans une ancienne carrière suivant l’ordonnance que nous avons décrite tant de fois: l’imitation des caravansérails en maçonnerie a été poussée si loin que le plafond de roc de la galerie a été façonné à la ressemblance exacte de voutes d’appareil (combinaisons de berceaux déterminant tantôt des lunettes, tantôt des travées d’arêtes): travail superflu et singulièrement illogique, où l’on reconnaît une de ces fantaisies de tailleurs de pierre si fréquentes dans la région d’Alep.<sup>93</sup> Deux détails de l’aménagement sont à signaler: la mosquée (*Fig. 34*), placée dans un bloc de rocher conservé au milieu de la cour (*Fig. 35*) et évidé pour former un édicule rudimentaire; sa situation, insolite dans un caravansérail, s’inspire à coup sûr de celle qu’occupe l’oratoire dans les *khāns* d’Alep;<sup>94</sup>—le souci du confort dont témoignent, dans la galerie, les regards d’aération percés de place en place dans le plafond, la *maṣṭaba* qui règne entre les contreforts, et la seconde banquettes, moins haute et pourvue de mangeoires en forme d’auge, qui se développe devant elle: chaque voyageur pouvait

<sup>87</sup> Thévenot, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

<sup>88</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, s. Maraclée.

<sup>89</sup> R. Dussaud, “Voyage en Syrie,” *Revue archéol.*, XXVIII (1896), 318–25.

<sup>90</sup> Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, p. 257.

<sup>91</sup> La Sergiopolis byzantine, à 25 km. au sud de

l’Euphrate.

<sup>92</sup> Village au bord du Ḳuweik, à 10 km. au sud d’Alep.

<sup>93</sup> J. Sauvaget, “Inventaire des monuments d’Alep,” *Revue des études islamiques*, V (1931), 112, No. 119: Khān en-Naḵr. D’autres exemples seraient à signaler dans la ville d’Alep proprement dite.

<sup>94</sup> Pour des exemples, v. *ibid.*, p. 95, Nos. 57 et 59.

ainsi soigner et surveiller sa monture, attachée devant lui, sans interrompre ses occupations.

La porte seule est maçonnée: ses détails (décharge du linteau, claveaux à crossettes, corbeaux) accusent la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> s. ou les premières années du XV<sup>e</sup> s.

### 32. KĀRĀ

Au Nord du caravansérail ayyoubide qu'on a décrit plus haut,<sup>95</sup> et à droite de la route, se voit un second caravansérail, plus vaste, mais dans un état de conservation si défectueux que son plan reste conjectural sur plus d'un point (*Fig. 33*).

La disposition de l'ensemble est celle de tous les édifices précédents: elle ne s'en distingue que par l'existence d'un iwān, placé au milieu de la face Sud de la cour et servant d'oratoire, qui interrompt le développement de la galerie; son mihrāb est surmonté d'un bandeau d'alvéoles. Cet iwān avait jadis reçu *une décoration peinte* dont il reste quelques traces: sur la retombée de la voûte une inscription coranique,<sup>96</sup> en énormes caractères noirs sur fond blanc, encadrée par deux rangs de fleurons; au dessus, réservé en blanc sur la surface noire de la voûte, un cartouche sultanien, entourée d'une bordure lobée, aujourd'hui indéchiffrable. Cette décoration n'est pas antérieure aux derniers temps de l'époque mamelouke: on peut l'attribuer aux régnes de Kāitbāy ou de Kānṣūh Ghawrī.

Le caravansérail lui-même est plus ancien. La clef de l'arc de sa porte d'entrée est chargée d'un blason: un disque divisé en trois champs horizontaux, dont l'un (en haut) est vide, les deux autres portant chacun une coupe. Le Dr. L. A. Mayer a bien voulu m'assurer que le plus ancien exemple de ce type d'armoiries est de 1380, le plus récent de 1401: c'est donc entre ces deux dates qu'il faut placer la construction du monument.

### 33. GHABĀGHEB<sup>97</sup>

Ce caravansérail (*Fig. 31*), d'une facture très sommaire, n'offre d'autre intérêt que de fournir un exemple d'adaptation d'un type monumental à un procédé particulier de construction: il est couvert de dalles de pierre, selon l'usage bien connu du Ḥawrān.

Le résultat le plus immédiat de cette étude est de nous faire connaître un type nouveau de caravansérail.

Quelle que soit leur date, les édifices que nous venons de décrire ne diffèrent les uns des autres que par des détails *de construction*: la disposition donnée aux locaux reste invariable et définit un type monumental très stable, que caractérisent la modicité des dimensions ( $\pm 2.500 \text{ m.}^2$ ), la galerie périphérique voûtée pourvue ou non d'un iwān, les deux pièces flanquant le couloir d'accès (dont une servant de mosquée), et la salle haute assurant la défense de la porte. Cet

<sup>95</sup> Sauvaget, "Les Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge," p. 53.

<sup>96</sup> Coran, II, 160.

<sup>97</sup> Dussaud, *op. cit.*, s.v.



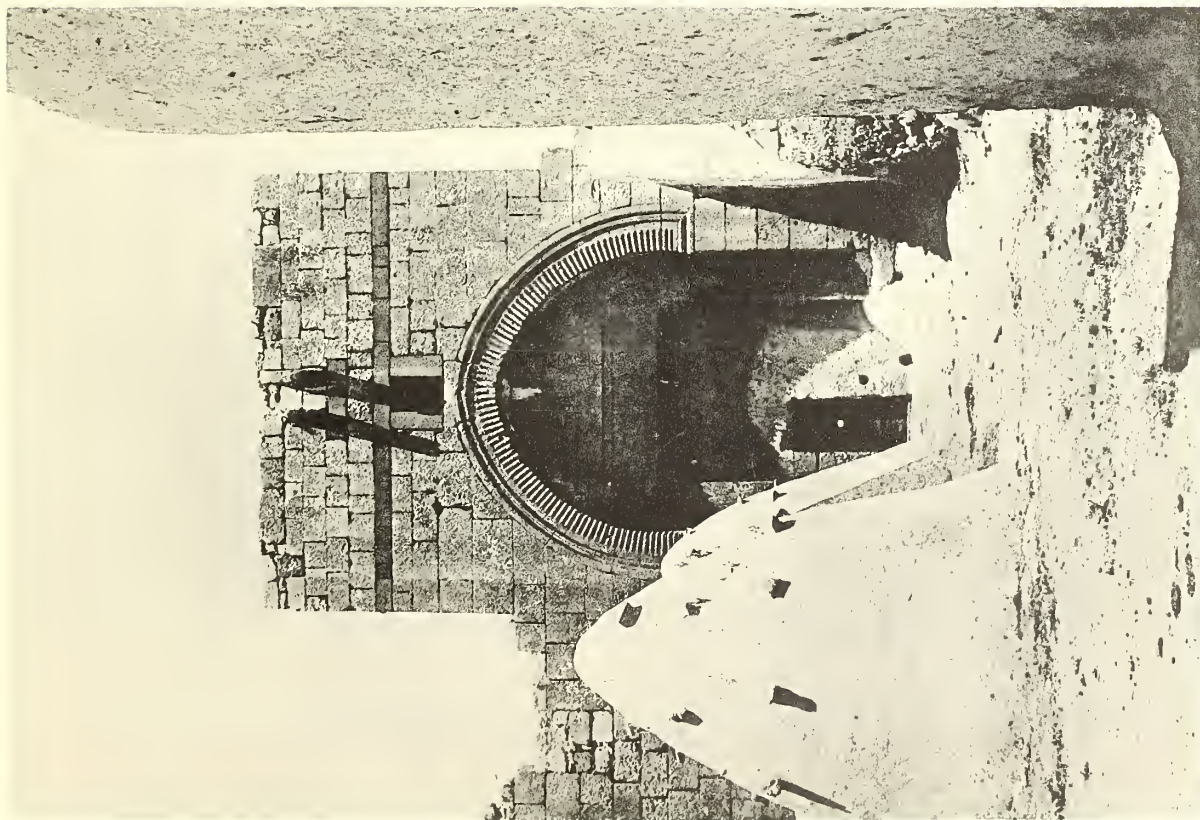


FIG. 21—L'ENTRÉE



FIG. 22—LA GALERIE

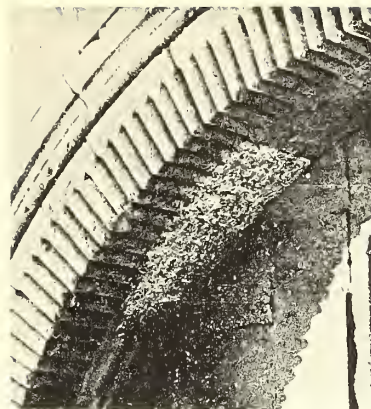


FIG. 23—DÉTAIL DU PORTAIL



FIG. 24—LA COUR VUE DE LA  
TERRASSE



FIG. 25—RESTES DU PARAPET  
CRÉNELÉ

KHÂN EL-SEBÎL





CLICHÉ: K. A. C. CRESWELL

FIG. 26—KHÂN TUMÂN: L'ENTRÉE ET LES RESTES DE LA GALERIE



FIG. 28—SHEIKH 'AYĀSH: LA GALERIE



FIG. 27—DJÛSIVÉ: LES RESTES DU  
CARAVANSÉRAIL





FIG. 29—ORTHOSIE: LE CARAVANSÉRAIL ET LE PONT

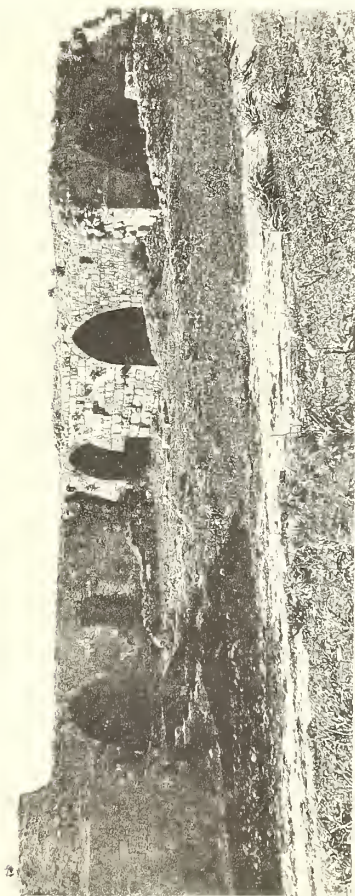


FIG. 30—ORTHOSIE: LA COUR DU CARAVANSÉRAIL



FIG. 31—GHABĀĠHER: FAÇADE DE LA GALERIE





FIG. 32—ERHĀB: L'ARC EN PLACE

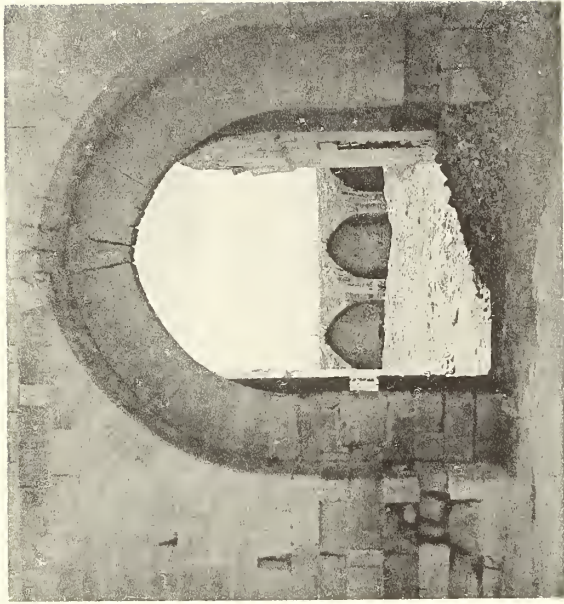


FIG. 33—KĀRĀ II: LA PORTE ET LA COUR



FIG. 34—UPĒHĪ: LA MOSQUÉE

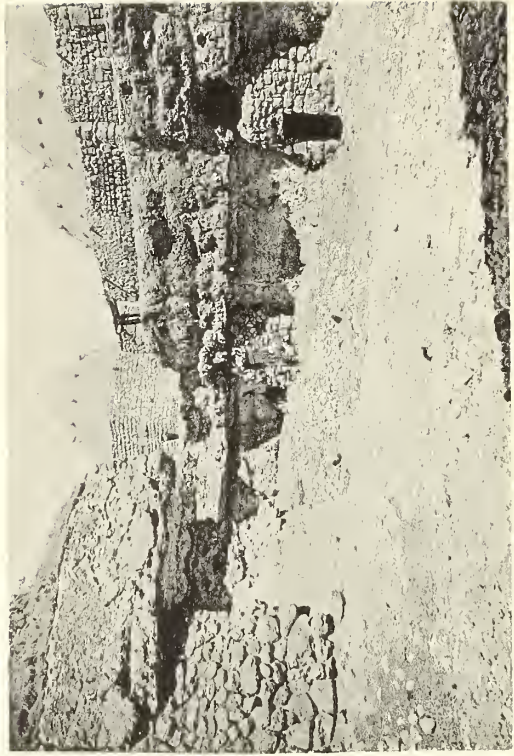


FIG. 35—UPĒHĪ: LA COUR



agencement sera même reproduit plus tard, sur une échelle plus monumentale il est vrai, par certains caravansérails ottomans de Syrie,<sup>98</sup> si bien que la persistance remarquable de cette formule autorise à conclure que nous sommes là devant *le type syrien* du caravansérail, nettement différencié des types en usage en Turquie,<sup>99</sup> en Irak<sup>100</sup> et en Perse.<sup>101</sup> Comparé à ces derniers, il paraît offrir un caractère beaucoup plus sommaire: petitesse de l'ensemble, manque de confort des aménagements, manque de variété des plans, absence à peu près totale de recherches visant à produire un effet monumental, telles sont les causes de son infériorité relative. Je crois cependant qu'il serait inconsidéré de porter un jugement d'après ces seules données: il me semble au contraire que la reproduction constante de ce type pendant plus de trois siècles apporte une preuve de ce qu'il s'était montré à l'usage parfaitement adapté aux conditions locales, et notamment aux modalités du trafic caravanier; il est clair, en effet, que la médiocrité des dimensions de la surface couverte ne constituait point un inconvénient majeur dans un pays comme la Syrie, où la nature des régions traversées (qui ne sont nulle part franchement désertiques) et la faible durée relative des voyages (Damas-Alep: 10 jours) tendaient à réduire l'importance des convois. L'inconvénient se trouvait en outre compensé par le grand nombre des caravansérails dont l'écartement (en moyenne: 30 km. soit une journée de marche) n'excède pas par endroits 14 km.

Ce type nouveau de monument pose un problème: celui de ses origines, mais il serait vain de chercher à le résoudre dans l'état actuel de notre information. Il existerait en Perse, à Ahu-vân, un caravansérail du début du XI<sup>e</sup> s.:<sup>102</sup> mais on ne nous en a pas donné le plan, et l'absence de documents comparables sous le double rapport de la chronologie et de la géographie ne permet pas de décider s'il présente une disposition exceptionnelle ou s'il se ramène à un type d'usage courant. D'autre part, avant d'envisager des emprunts de formules étrangères, il conviendrait d'interroger la tradition architecturale syrienne elle-même, et ici notre ignorance est totale: entre les derniers *pandocheia* byzantins et le caravansérail d'el-Kṭaifé (No. 1) il existe un hiatus chronologique irréductible, aggravé d'une dissimilitude non moins irréductible dans le caractère des plans. Tout rapprochement, tout essai d'explication seraient donc actuellement illusoire.

Quant aux enseignements qu'apportent ces édifices sur l'histoire des routes commerciales de Syrie, ils demeurent sans aucun rapport avec l'art de l'Islam: je m'abstiens donc d'en traiter ici et renvoie sur ce point à l'étude sur la poste que j'espère faire paraître très prochainement.

<sup>98</sup> Sauvaget, "Les Caravansérails syriens du Ḥadjdj de Constantinople," p. 103, Fig. 10; p. 107, Fig. 15; p. 119, Fig. 25.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120, n. 46.

<sup>100</sup> V. les exemples réunis dans Müller, *op. cit.*; et F. Sarre et E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* (Berlin, 1920), II, 198-201.

<sup>101</sup> Müller, *op. cit.*, et le recueil classique de Coste; A. U. Pope, "Bridges, Fortifications and Caravanserais," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London, New York, 1939), II, 1226 sq.

<sup>102</sup> Pope, *op. cit.*, II, 1246; et E. Schroeder, "Islamic Architecture. The Seljūq Period," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), II, 998.

## I. GEOMETRIC CARPETS

AMONG THE PRIZED POSSESSIONS OF VARIOUS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS ARE THE earliest completely preserved Persian carpets of the sixteenth and following centuries. It is scarcely possible that such perfection could be attained without a long background of experience in rug weaving, and yet, with a few possible exceptions, there are no extant Persian rugs which can authoritatively be given a date prior to the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In the study of Anatolian and Caucasian rugs, contemporary European paintings with representations of Oriental carpets have been very useful in the reconstruction of extinct types:<sup>2</sup> but these western paintings have thus far yielded little information about Persian rugs. Until some earlier carpets come to light, the best clue as to the character of fifteenth-century rug design is to be found in the Persian miniature paintings, especially those made for the successors of Timur.<sup>3</sup> In these miniatures, carpets appear to be the most important article of household equipment, serving not merely as floor coverings but in place of beds and chairs as well. In the garden, too, the prince and his attendants are represented sitting on carpets and shaded by a canopy which is likewise a rug.

The miniatures in which the rugs to be considered here are depicted date from a Khawādījū

<sup>1</sup> M. S. Dimand thinks the medallion carpet in the Ballard collection of the Metropolitan Museum may have been made in Tabriz in the late fifteenth century, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts* (New York, 1930), Fig. 44; the fragment of a carpet with rows of prayer niches in a private collection in Berlin is dated by Sarre as fifteenth century (F. Sarre and H. Trenkwald, *Old Oriental Carpets* [tr. A. F. Kendrick; Vienna, 1926-29], II, Pl. 50).

<sup>2</sup> K. Erdmann, "Orientalische Tierteppiche auf Bildern des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, L (1920), 251 *et seq.*; F. R. Martin, *A History of Oriental Carpets Before 1800* (Vienna, 1908); W. von Bode and E. Kühnel, *Antique Rugs from the Near East* (tr. R. M. Riefstahl; New York, 1922); J. Lessing, *Ancient Carpet Patterns, After Pictures and Originals of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London, 1879).

<sup>3</sup> Carpets are occasionally represented in Mongol miniatures. Some are closely related to types found in Timurid miniatures, but others are different in character. Some of these earlier carpets will be treated in a forthcoming article by R. Ettinghausen.

The value of the representations of carpets in miniature paintings has long been recognized by students of Oriental carpets. F. R. Martin included several examples in the *History of Oriental Carpets Before 1800*. The late R. M. Riefstahl had for many years been collecting material relative to the subject and was planning a publication at the time of his death (See *Figs.* 18, 23, 26, 33, 40, 53, and 58). In his article, "Primitive Rugs of the 'Konya' Type" (*Art Bull.*, XIII [1931], 177-220), several rugs represented in miniatures are illustrated and compared with thirteenth-century Seljuk stone reliefs at Amasya and Sivas in Anatolia. Rugs in Persian miniatures have also been discussed by A. Sakisian, A. U. Pope, and M. S. Dimand.

The sources for this study have been almost entirely photographs and publications containing reproductions of miniatures; a few original manuscripts available to me have been consulted.

I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Riefstahl for permission to use Dr. Riefstahl's material and to continue work on this subject, and to Dr. Ettinghausen for his constant help and encouragement.



Kirmānī manuscript in the British Museum, copied in Baghdad in 1396, and extend through the fifteenth century. The emphasis is on the designs themselves. The rugs of geometric layout, which comprise the largest and most important group, will be discussed first. In a subsequent article there will be an analysis of the nongeometrical group, that is to say, the arabesque, floral, and prayer rugs.

Before miniatures with representations of rugs are used as archaeological evidence, it is necessary to prove their reliability. Are these representations the mere product of the painter's fancy, or do they illustrate actual carpet designs of the Timurid period?

The close connection between book illumination and the designs found in rugs is obvious. Several authorities believe that the painter created the designs used not only for illumination, but for book binding, carpet weaving, and faïence mosaic as well.<sup>4</sup> The important point here is not whether the painter deserves the credit of producing the designs used in other decorative arts, but whether he was sufficiently cognizant of actual carpet designs to reproduce them accurately in his miniatures.

The rugs are depicted with such precision in composition and detail that it seems inevitable that the painter must have had first-hand knowledge of rug designs.<sup>5</sup> Another indication that the rugs in miniatures portray real carpets is that, although closely related in design to other arts (especially book binding and illumination) they have a consistent character and development of their own. For example, geometric carpets persisted when architectural ornament, illumination, and bindings were cursive and when naturalistic motifs were common. We know, also, that miniatures in the following Safawid period present on the whole, a truthful picture of contemporary decorative arts, a fact which can be verified by the study of existing examples.<sup>6</sup> Since, in spite of changes of dynasty, the development of Persian art is unbroken, it may be assumed that the decorative arts represented in Timurid miniatures also portray actual forms.

But the validity of Timurid miniatures as basic evidence for the elucidation of the history of carpets, need not rest on such general and indirect arguments. The miniatures which contain rugs have other decorative details which, when tested by comparison with contempo-

<sup>4</sup> Discussing the close relationship of designs found in book illumination, carpets represented in Timurid miniatures, and Seljuk stone reliefs, Riefstahl said: "There can hardly be any doubt that it was the book illuminators who originated the patterns" (*ibid.*, p. 208). Basil Gray, however, thinks that Martin's attribution to the miniature painter of "the origination of the designs appearing in textiles and ceramics" is unreasonable (*Persian Painting* [London, 1930], p. 21). See also A. U. Pope, *An Introduction to Persian Art Since the Seventh Century* (New York, 1931), p. 121, and *idem*, "The Art of Carpet Making," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), III, 2262-63, 2312.

<sup>5</sup> In speaking of the rugs represented in the *Khwādījū*

Kirmānī ms. of 1396 in the British Museum, Riefstahl noted that they "have narrow borders only on the outer side. They are invariably green and are framed by orange water lines. Such uniformity makes us conclude that the rugs depicted must actually have existed" (*op. cit.*, p. 207).

<sup>6</sup> Sarre noted that two carpets in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, are of the same kind as those represented in miniatures: "For example, in a ms. of the year 1539 in the National Museum at Stockholm" (Sarre and Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, Pls. VI, VII). Pope also has noted the similarity of carpets in Safawid miniatures to extant examples (*op. cit.*, p. 2316).

rary objects still in existence, are found to be authentic and therefore prove that the painter followed the pattern of his models.

The portrayal of architectural ornament in Timurid miniatures is a truthful representation of contemporary forms. In the miniatures of the last decades of the fifteenth century, which are especially rich in decorative detail, the faïence mosaic represented is not different in effect from that found on the Blue Mosque at Tabriz or on the Masdjid-i-Gawhar Shād at Meshed. The motifs are the same, and the composition of doorways with floral arabesques in the spandrels and surrounding Kufic inscriptions is found in the miniatures and on the monuments.<sup>7</sup> E. Cohn-Wiener refers to important Timurid manuscripts containing miniatures in which the architectural ornament in the flower style corresponds to that on actual buildings in Turkestan.<sup>8</sup> Miniatures of four of the manuscripts cited contain representations of carpets (Appendix, Nos. 1, 15, 23, 47).

Even Chinese porcelain represented in the miniatures stands the test of comparison with contemporary pieces still in existence today. L. Ashton cites examples of early blue-and-white Chinese porcelain depicted in Timurid miniatures which correspond to extant specimen of this ware.<sup>9</sup> Many of the miniatures listed as containing Chinese vases identified with extant pieces also illustrate rugs (Appendix, Nos. 1a, 4a, 16, 17, 37c, 42, 46). Several manuscripts rich in rugs are mentioned by both Cohn-Wiener and Ashton; for example, the *Khwādjū Kirmānī* of 1396 in the British Museum.

The conclusion drawn from this evidence is, in its most conservative form, that the rugs represented in Timurid miniatures depict, if not actual carpets, designs of the same type, general composition, and character, as those used in the rugs of the period. This would apply especially to rugs made for the highest stratum of society. They were quite possibly more elaborate than their representations in tiny miniatures could permit, a conjecture given weight by a comparison of arabesque forms in late Timurid rugs illustrated in miniatures with those of the earliest datable Persian carpets.

The representations give no clue as to the weave. It might, perhaps, be assumed that the canopy rugs, being lighter in weight, were of tapestry, not pile, weave.<sup>10</sup>

The rugs in the Timurid miniatures fall into several distinct classes when analyzed from the point of view of design. By far the largest number are of a geometric type. The field is based on an allover repeat of squares, octagons, hexagons, stars, or circles; combined in a variety of ways with geometric star-rosettes and enriched by interlacements and other geo-

<sup>7</sup> Doorway of Masdjid-i Gawhar Shād (Amer. Inst. Iranian Art and Archaeol., photograph No. XXIIA) and fifteenth-century Persian miniature (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* [Oxford, 1933], Pl. LXIIIB).

<sup>8</sup> "On the Origin of the Persian Carpet Pattern," *Islamic Culture*, XL, No. 4 (1937), 454-59. The author said that the buildings, furniture, dress, etc., represented

in these miniatures, "are certainly those commonly used at the time when the miniatures were painted." (pp. 458-59).

<sup>9</sup> "Early Blue and White in Persian Mss." *Trans. Oriental Ceramic Soc.*, 1934-35, pp. 21-25.

<sup>10</sup> Pope thinks that pile knotting was probably used for canopies and tent covers (*op. cit.*, p. 2316).



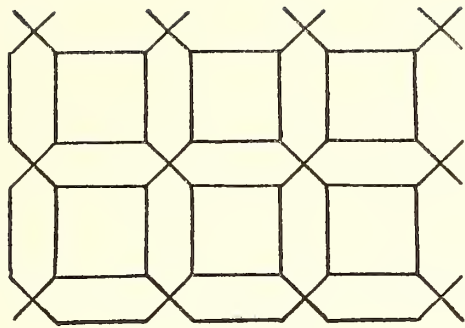


FIG. 1—TYPE I

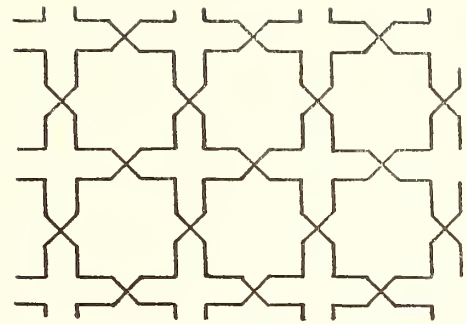


FIG. 2—TYPE II

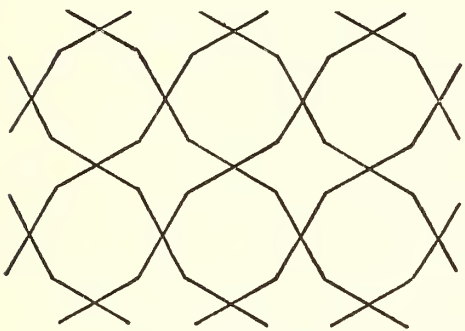


FIG. 3—TYPE IIIa

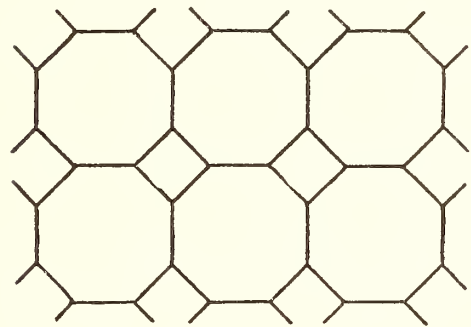


FIG. 4—TYPE IIIb

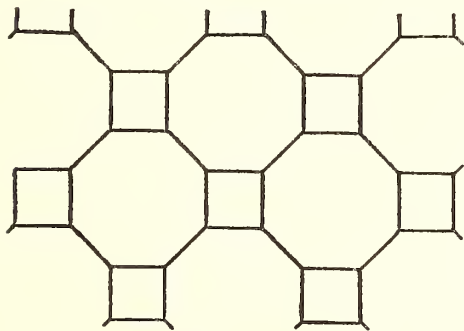


FIG. 5—TYPE IIIc

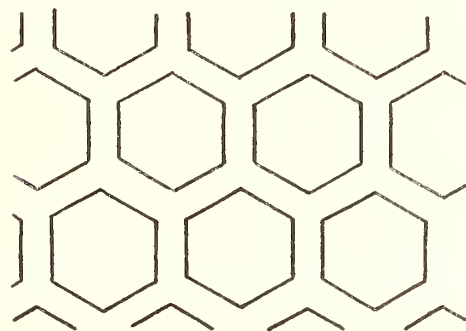


FIG. 6—TYPE IVa

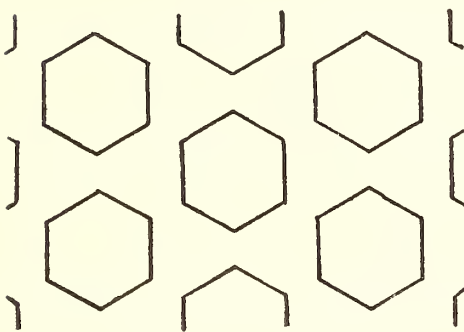


FIG. 7—TYPE IVb

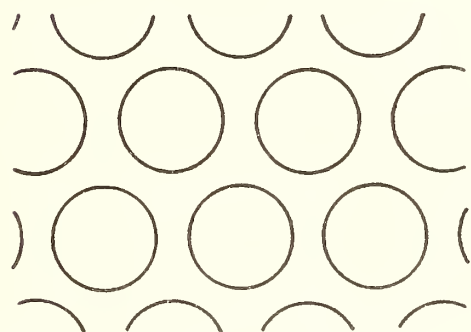


FIG. 8—TYPE V

DIAGRAMS OF PLANS OF TIMURID GEOMETRIC CARPETS

metric, semigeometric, and stylized plant forms. With the exception of a few rugs in miniatures attributed to Bihzād, where arabesque forms are used, the border is invariably composed of forms derived from Kufic inscriptions.

Some representations of floor coverings with geometric designs are of less significance than the types discussed below. Several are not ruglike in character, for example, one with a geometric arabesque design, in a Niẓāmī manuscript dated 1449–50, in the Metropolitan Museum (Appendix, No. 28a). The design of the field seems nothing more than surface decoration in the painting. Neither border design nor the relation of field to border seems ruglike.<sup>11</sup> In some miniatures there are little mats which are mere fragments, about a quarter of a rug. The ends are fringed, as if fringe were added after a large rug had been quartered. Thus, fringe appears along one “cut” edge that has no border (Appendix, No. 37f). Such mats suggest a possible procedure for the manufacture of inexpensive rugs. Often a carpet is protected by a covering, possibly of textile weave. With the exception of a few canopies and tent covers having designs very closely related to those of carpets, only floor coverings with compositions of distinct carpet character will be mentioned.

By the layout of their plans the geometric Timurid carpets may be classified as Type I, based on squares; Type II, on stars and crosses; Type III, on octagons; Type IV, on hexagons; or Type V, on circles (*Figs. 1–8*). Several types are closely related. A few Timurid rugs with allover repeating patterns do not conform to this classification, and a few have geometric designs which are not allover repeats.

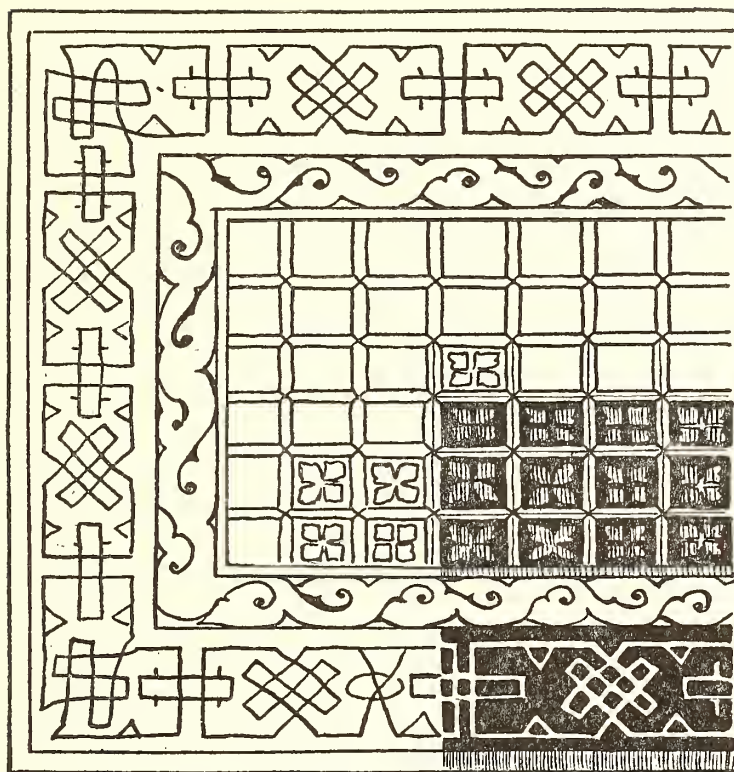
Types I and II can be thought of as originating in a straight repeat of squares, the sides of which do not touch. Lines crossing each other diagonally are drawn between the squares, at their corners in Type I (*Figs. 1, 9–16*), and at the centers of the sides, transforming the squares into eight-pointed stars and crosses, in Type II (*Figs. 2, 18–25*).

Type I is used in a very simple form in more geometric rugs than is any other plan. With few exceptions, however, these rugs of tile-pattern design lack the interest and variety of geometric rugs of other types. Characteristic examples are found in a double miniature of a “Feast of Ghāzān Khān in a Garden,” which contains two rugs of this type (and two of different types, Appendix, No. 26). The little rugs of the “Paladins in the Snow Storm” in the fifteenth-century *Shah Namah* of the Royal Asiatic Society (Appendix, No. 22a) and the ground of a small prayer rug in a *Mī'rādī-nāma* dated 1436 (Appendix, No. 14) have this design. Though the pattern is very simple the happy relation between it and the Kufic borders is satisfying, and the choice of colors gives these little carpets an almost enamel-like brilliance. Several attractive tile-pattern rugs are represented in a *Haft Paikar* and in another related manuscript in the possession of Monif in New York (Appendix, No. 43a). The Brooklyn Museum has an undated miniature, definitely Safawid in style, which strangely enough contains a rug the field of which is of this type.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> For a rug rendered in so cursory a manner that it is of little value, see Appendix, No. 12b.

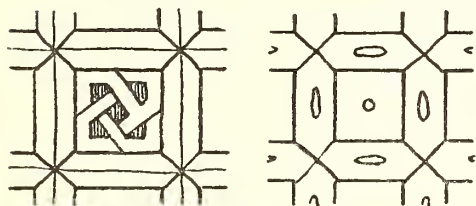
<sup>12</sup> Acc. No. 35, 1030. A photograph was kindly fur-

nished by the Director of the Brooklyn Museum, Mr. L. Roberts.



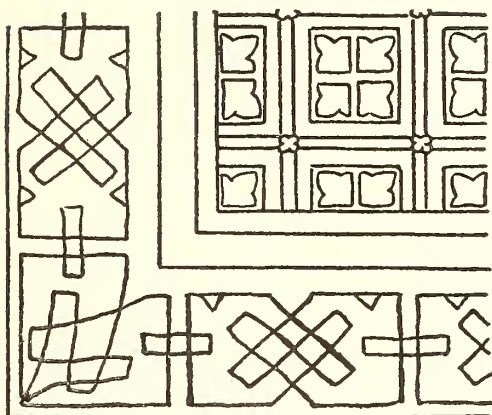
(AFTER BLOCHET)

FIG. 9—RUG FROM A MANUSCRIPT, *ca.* 1430 (APPENDIX, No. 20a)



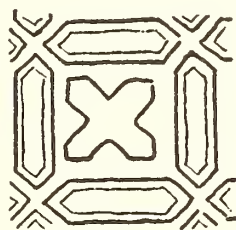
(AFTER METROPOLITAN MUSEUM PHOTOGRAPHS)

FIG. 12—FLOOR-PATTERNS FROM FIFTEENTH CENTURY MINIATURES



(AFTER BLOCHET)

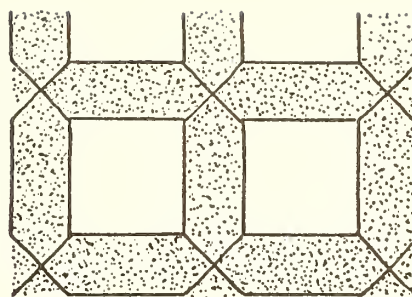
FIG. 15—RUG, *ca.* 1430 (APPENDIX, No. 20c)



(AFTER KÜHNEL)

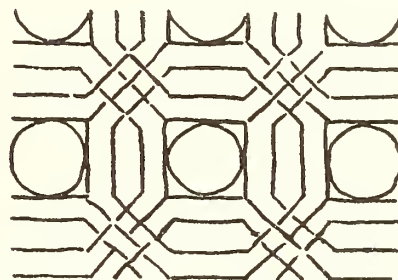
FIG. 13—TEXTILE DESIGN IN A DIOSCORIDES MANUSCRIPT, 1224

FGA 47.5



(AFTER SARRE)

FIG. 10—SAMARRA TILE REVETMENT, NINTH CENTURY



(AFTER SAKISIAN)

FIG. 11—DESIGN FROM ILLUMINATED PAGE OF A KORAN, 1026

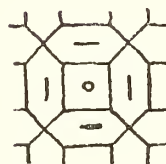
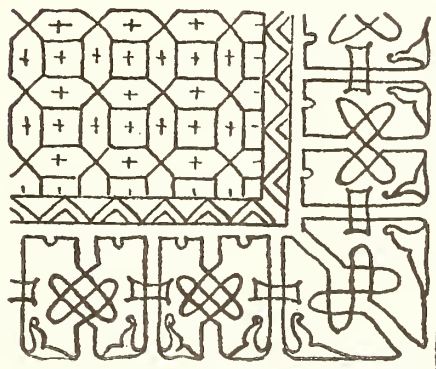


FIG. 14—WALL-PATTERN FROM A MINIATURE, END OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY

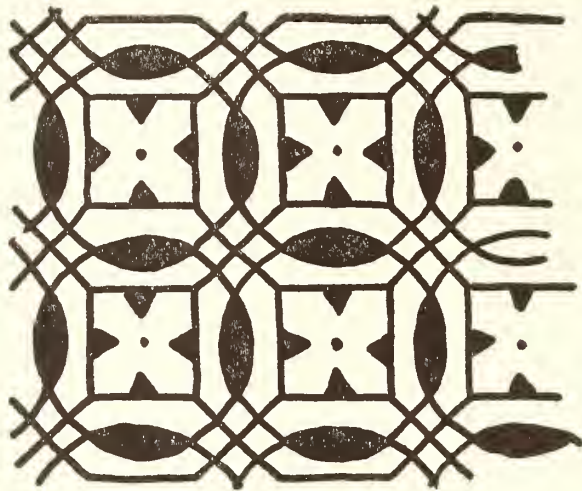


(AFTER KÜHNEL)

FIG. 16—RUG (APPENDIX, No. 7)

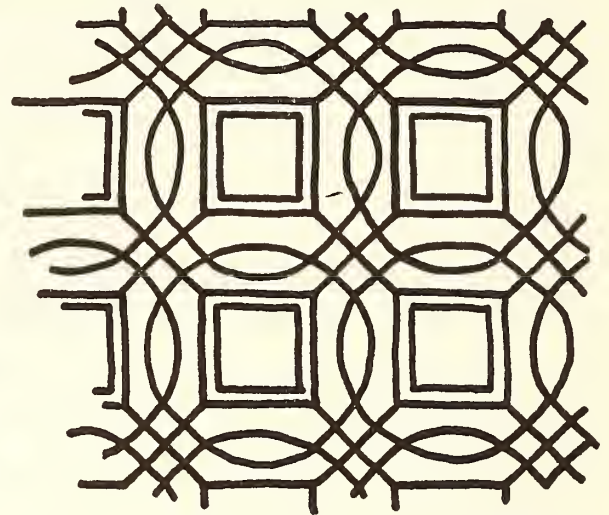


Any classification of these designs is more or less arbitrary. Type I can also be interpreted as two interlocked sets of octagons arranged as in Type IIIc (Fig. 5). This is very obvious in an illuminated design from an eleventh-century Koran (Fig. 11). Effects similar to this are seen in many pre-Timurid patterns represented in miniatures, for example, in a floor pattern represented in a miniature of an early thirteenth-century Jacobite manuscript in the British Museum (Fig. 17b)<sup>13</sup> and in the design on a pillow represented in a Mongol manuscript of about 1340 (Fig. 17a).<sup>14</sup> In these two designs, the inside octagons are rounded off and are almost circular. A late adaptation of this frame of distorted circles is seen in one of the last geometric carpets illustrated in the miniatures (Fig. 28). Both the field and border (Fig. 69) of this carpet indicate its close relationship to carpets of an older type.



(AFTER KÜHNEL)

FIG. 17a—PILLOW DESIGN, *Shah Namah* MANUSCRIPT,  
ca. 1340, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON



(AFTER BUCHTHAL)

FIG. 17b—FLOOR PATTERN, JACOBITE LECTIONARY OF  
THE GOSPELS, ca. 1216-20, BRITISH MUSEUM

#### PRE-TIMURID TILE-PATTERN DESIGNS

A carpet with an all-over repeating pattern somewhat like Type I is found in an *Anthology* dated 1410-11, in the Gulbenkian collection (Fig. 62). The field is composed of separate square compartments, each having an interlaced geometric star design too indistinct in the reproduction to reconstruct accurately. The division into separate squares is met again in a much later canopy rug which is divided into squares with medallions and arabesque decoration (Appendix, No. 40a). The latter design, from a manuscript dated 1486, suggests a garden rug like the one in the Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Vienna.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> H. Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites," *Syria*, XX (1939), 136-50, Pl. XVI.

<sup>14</sup> E. Kühnel, "History of Miniature Painting and Drawing," *Survey of Persian Art*, III, Pl. 838.

An early fourteenth-century miniature, "The Bier of Alexander," in the Freer Gallery (38.3, from the De-

motte *Shah Namah*) has a carpet with tile-pattern field similar to Figure. 12a. One of the borders is Kufic of the type of Figures 64-69.

<sup>15</sup> Formerly Figdor collection, Bode and Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Fig. 37.

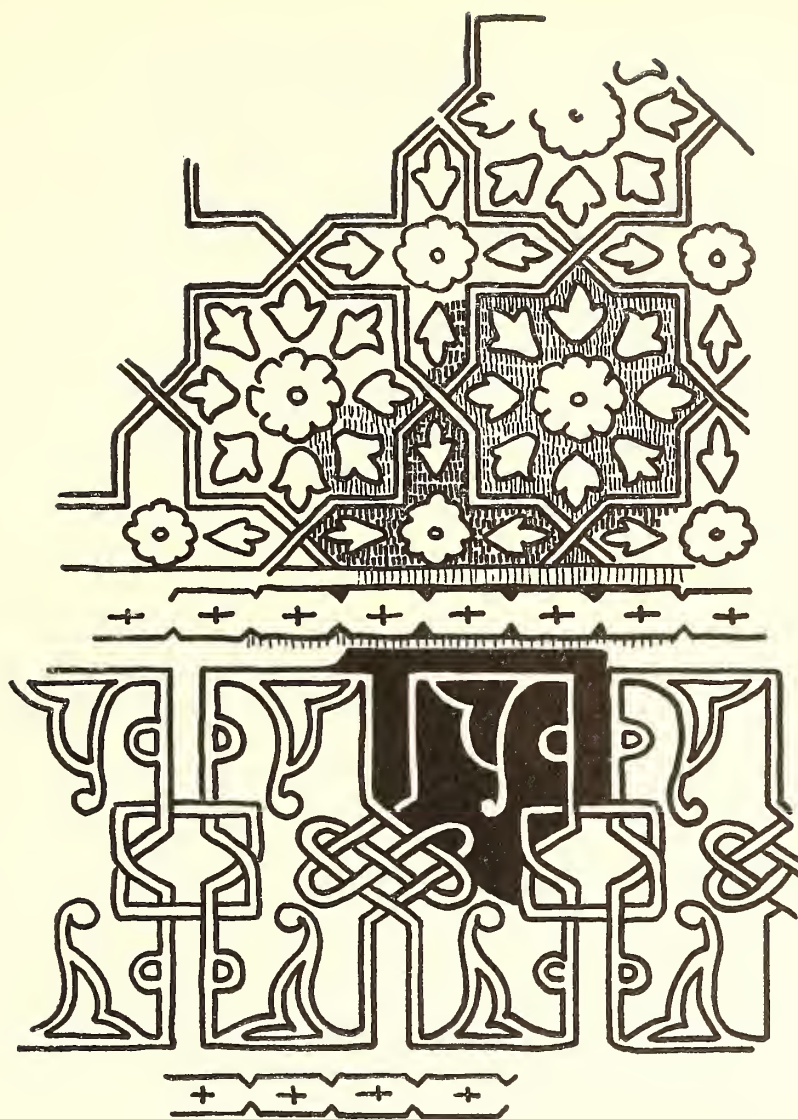
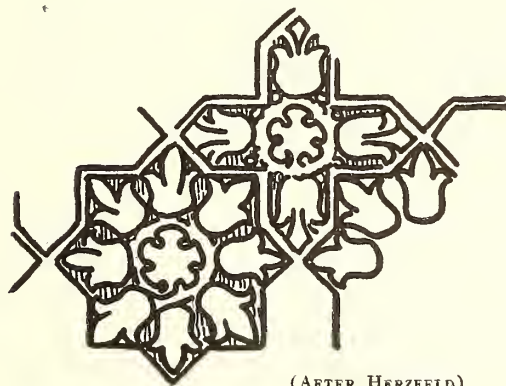


FIG. 19—RUG, TYPE II, *Shah Namah* OF SULTAN ALI MIRZA, FIFTEENTH CENTURY (APPENDIX, No. 47a)



(AFTER HERZFELD)

FIG. 20—STUCCO DESIGN FROM SAMARRA, NINTH CENTURY



In Type II the compartments are outlined by narrow bands, usually white, which interlace and almost always form knots between the crosses. Like that of Type I, the design antedates the Timurid period. A carpet of this type is represented in the *Fables of Bidpai* in the University Library, Istanbul, dating from the fourteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Figure 18 illustrates a very simple handling of this design. Rugs occur where even the knots are omitted—in a *Shah Namah* dated 1438 (Appendix, No. 15a), in a manuscript of the *Annals of Ṭabarī* dated 1469 (Appendix, No. 36), and in the *Shah Namah* of Sultan Ali Mirza (Fig. 19). The position of the knots in Figure 21 is unique. Type II is capable of elaboration and is found in many of the most attractive of the geometric rugs (Figs. 24 and 25). A carpet similar to Figure 25 is represented in a Mogul miniature by Manohar.<sup>17</sup> As most carpets in Mogul paintings have elaborate flower designs, it is possible that this one represents an old fifteenth-century carpet, perhaps of Persian manufacture. In decoration, rugs of Type II are very similar to those of Type III.

Type III, with its octagonal plan, frequently recurs among the geometric rugs. An early use of this plan is found on the illuminated frontispiece of a manuscript of Rashid al-Dīn, dated 1310 (Fig. 26).<sup>18</sup> That it was used for rug designs in the Mongol period is indicated by its presence in a manuscript for which Gray suggests the date 1350 (Fig. 27).<sup>19</sup> In Type IIIa a point of the octagon is on top (Figs. 3, 26–28, 30, 32–35, etc.), in Type IIIb a straight side (Fig. 53). In Figure 53 the octagons, not in contact, are left separate instead of being linked together by the outlining bands. An interesting variation of the octagonal plan is found in the rug of a miniature attributed to Bihzād (Figs. 47 and 51), where a system of dominantly vertical and horizontal bands, which form interpenetrating compartments, are interlaced with the system of bands forming the octagons. This arrangement recalls an exceptional carpet in the *Khawājū Kirmānī* of 1396 in which the pattern is formed by sets of curving vertical and horizontal cross-bands into which are interlaced baroque interpenetrating octagons (Figs. 46 and 50).<sup>20</sup> A further elaboration of the cross-band scheme is found in a rug illustrated in a mid-fifteenth century *Shah Namah* miniature and in the De Lorey collection (Figs. 48, 49, and 52). The interspacial star rosettes remain nearly the same, but between them are introduced fleur-de-lis palmettes, an entirely new motif. These palmettes point alternately up and down, a plan followed in many later carpets. Interlaced with the octagonal frame formed by the stars and palmettes (Fig. 52a) are diagonal arabesque systems (Fig. 52b, c), which introduce a new diagonal rhythm and relate this design to trellis patterns of later floral carpets, for example, the “Herati” pattern of north, central, and east Persia. Another variation of the octagonal plan is used in Figure 59, where the octagons have been replaced by lobed roundels.

<sup>16</sup> A. Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane* (Paris, 1929), Pl. X, No. 8.

<sup>17</sup> L. Binyon, and T. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls* (Oxford, 1921), Pl. I. This carpet has a less complicated central star than has Figure 25.

<sup>18</sup> Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

<sup>19</sup> B. Gray, “Die Kalila wa-Dimna Handschrift der Universität Istanbul,” *Pantheon*, XII (1933), 280–83.

<sup>20</sup> A closely related cross-band pattern is in an early Arabic book illumination; B. Moritz, *Arabic Paleography* (Cairo, 1905), Pl. XXII (second-third century H.).





PHOTOGRAPH: BRITISH MUSEUM

FIG. 21—DETAIL OF A MINIATURE WITH RUG, TYPE II,  
SHAH NAMAH, 1438 (APPENDIX, No. 15*b*)



FROM THE RIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES

FIG. 23—DETAIL OF MINIATURE WITH EARLY TIMURID RUG, TYPE II  
COLLECTION UNKNOWN





FROM THE RIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES

FIG. 18—RUG, FROM A MINIATURE, TYPE II, COLLECTION UNKNOWN

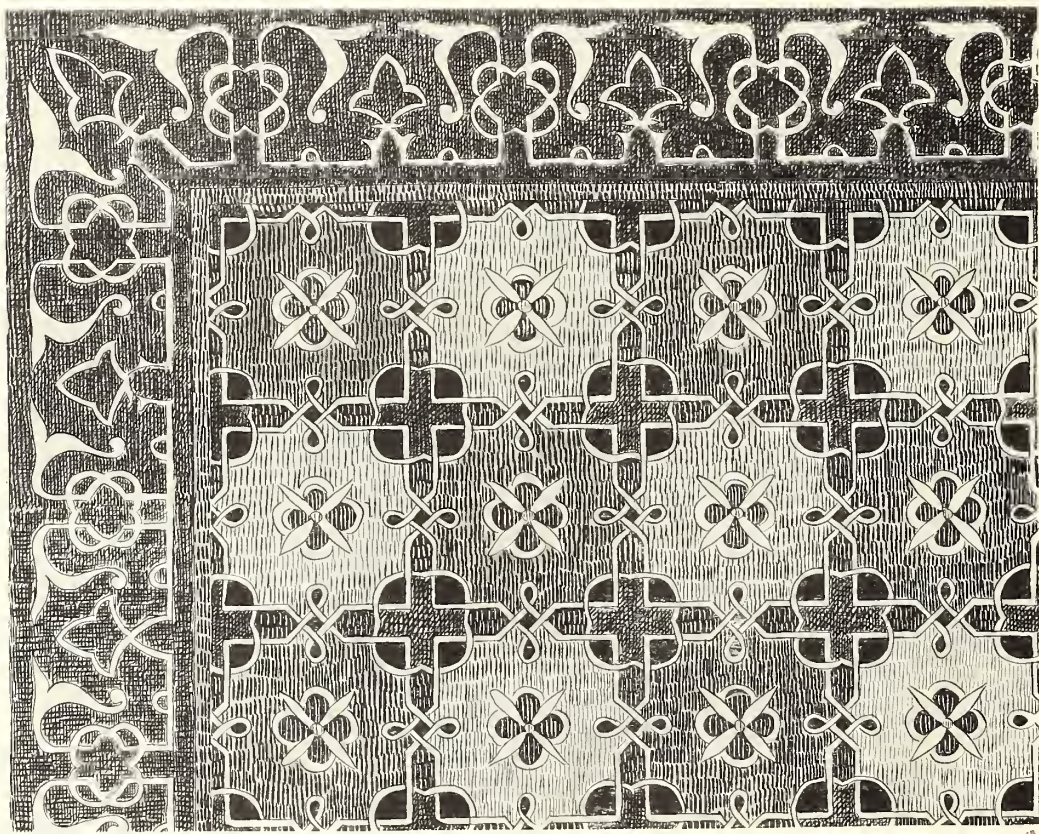


FIG. 22—RUG, TYPE II, KHUSRAU wa-SHĪRĪN MANUSCRIPT, EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY (APPENDIX, No. 2)

31.39



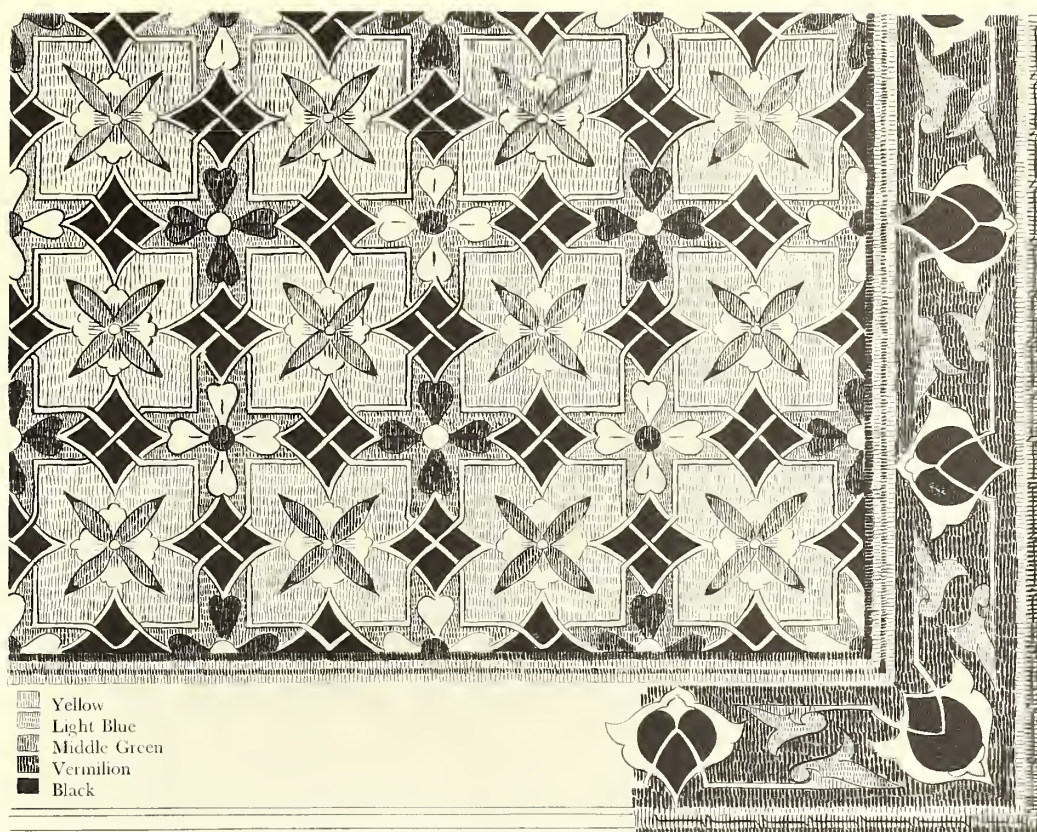


FIG. 24—RUG, TYPE II, FROM A MINIATURE, ATTRIBUTED TO BIḤZĀD (APPENDIX, No. 34*a*)

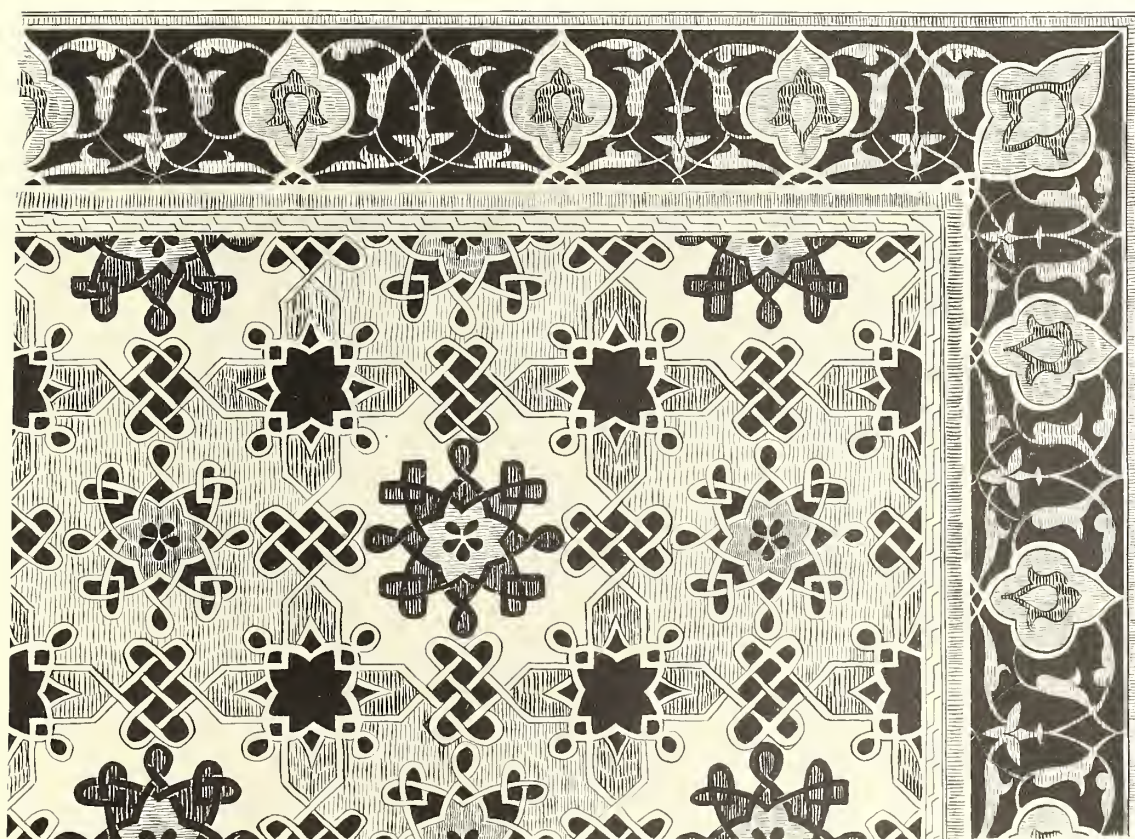
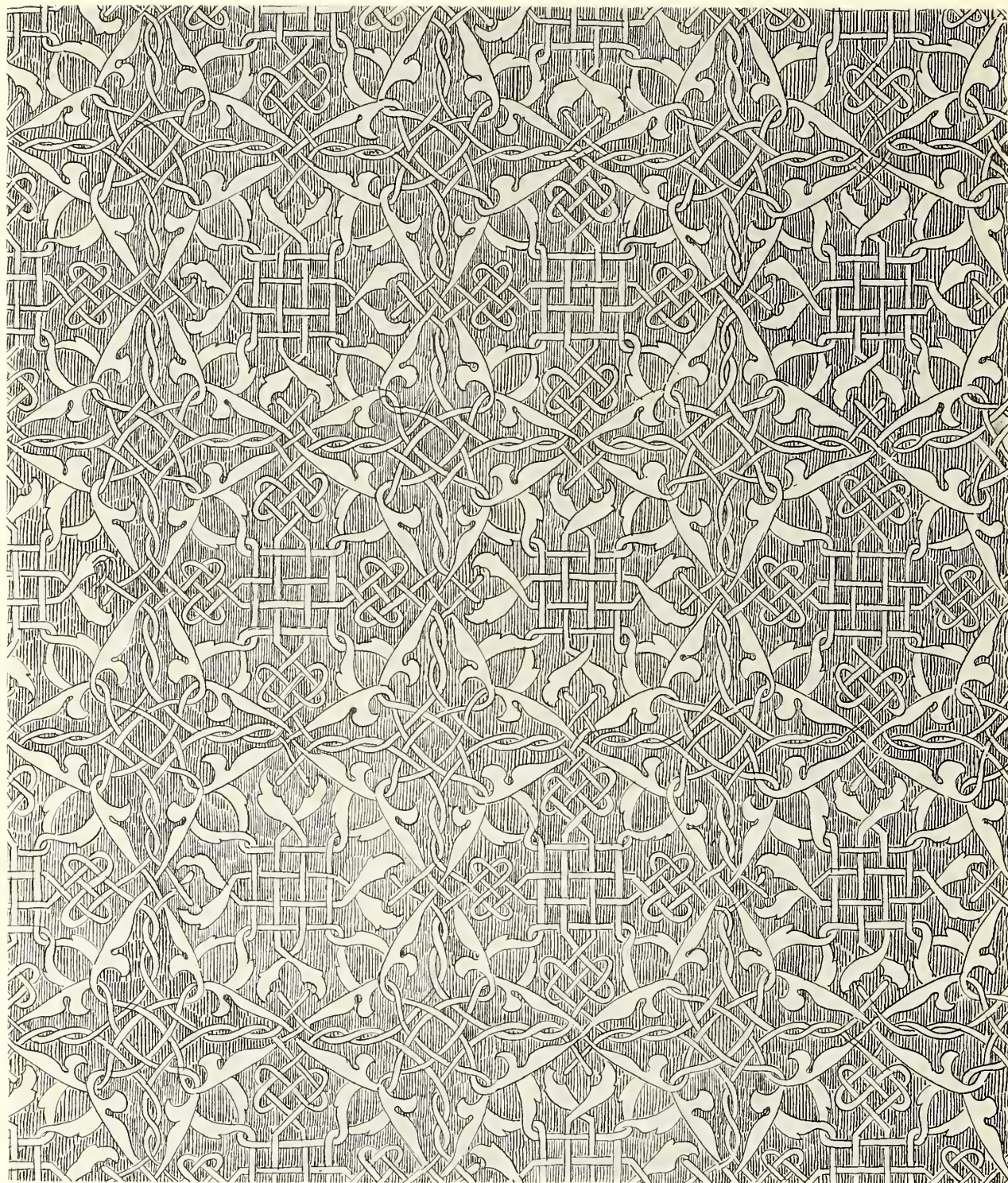


FIG. 25—RUG, TYPE II, FROM A MINIATURE BY BIḤZĀD(?) (APPENDIX, No. 41*a*)





FROM THE RIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES

FIG. 26—ILLUMINATED FRONTISPIECE OF A RASHĪD AL-DĪN MANUSCRIPT, 1310, PARIS,  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE



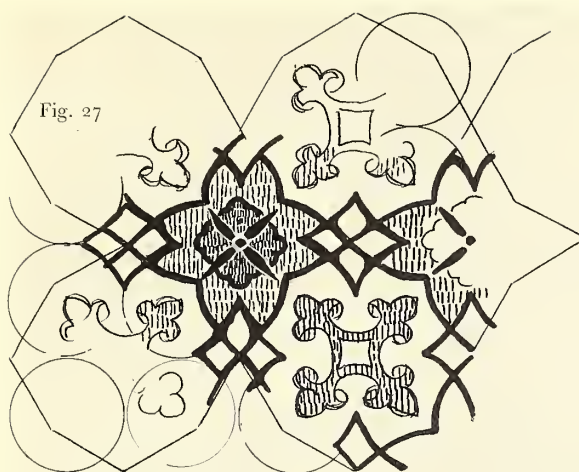


Fig. 27

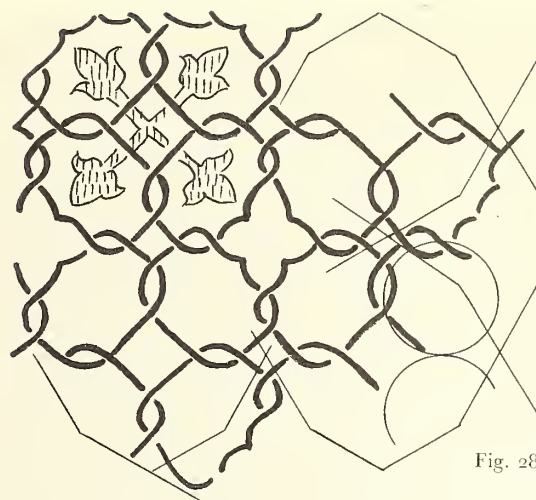


Fig. 28

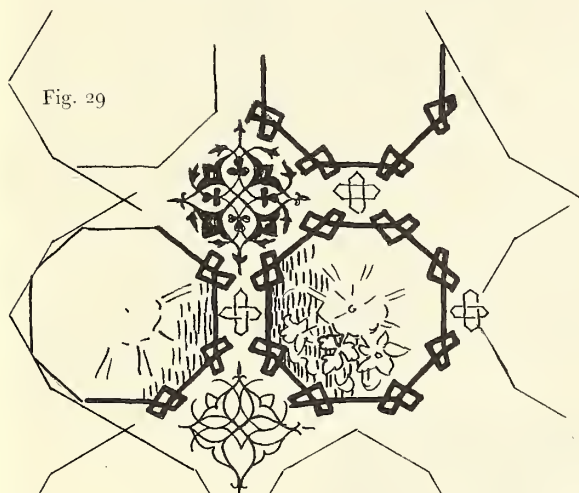


Fig. 29

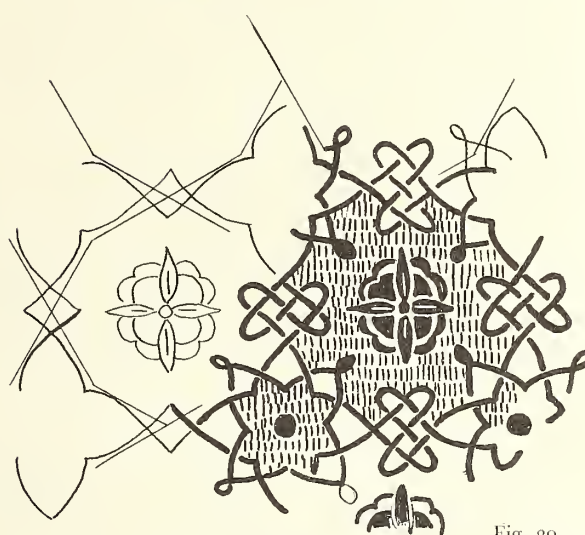


Fig. 30

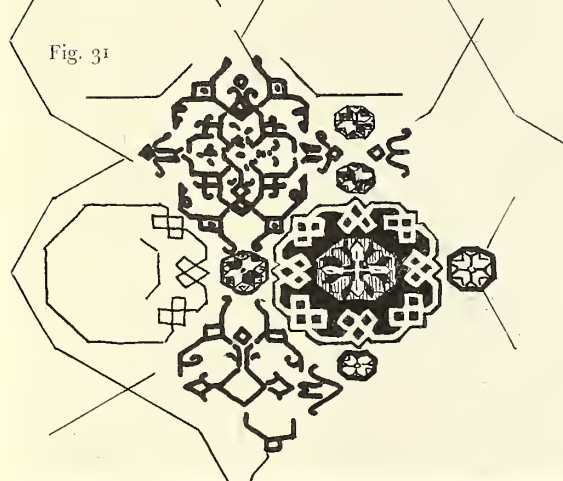


Fig. 31

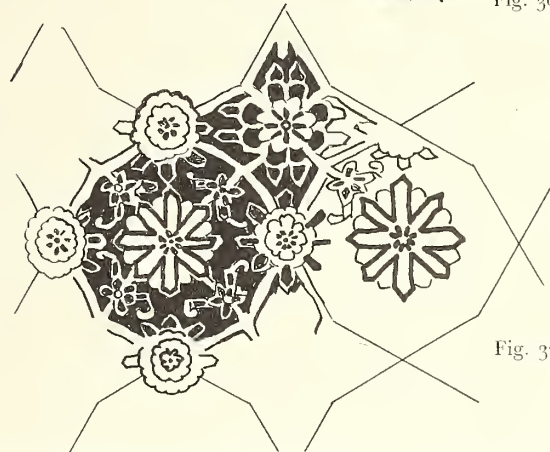


Fig. 32

FIG. 27—KALĪLA WA-DIMNA MANUSCRIPT,  
ca. 1350

FIG. 29—SHAH NAMAH OF SULTAN ALI MIRZA  
(APPENDIX, No. 47c)

FIG. 31—HOLBEIN CARPET, SIXTEENTH  
CENTURY, BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN  
(FROM THE RIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES)

FIG. 28—NIZĀMĪ MANUSCRIPT, 1494  
(APPENDIX, No. 44a)

FIG. 30—KHWĀDJŪ KIRMĀNĪ MANUSCRIPT,  
1427 (APPENDIX, No. 9)

FIG. 32—CARPET WITH "MINA KHANI"  
PATTERN (AFTER GROTE-HASENBALG)

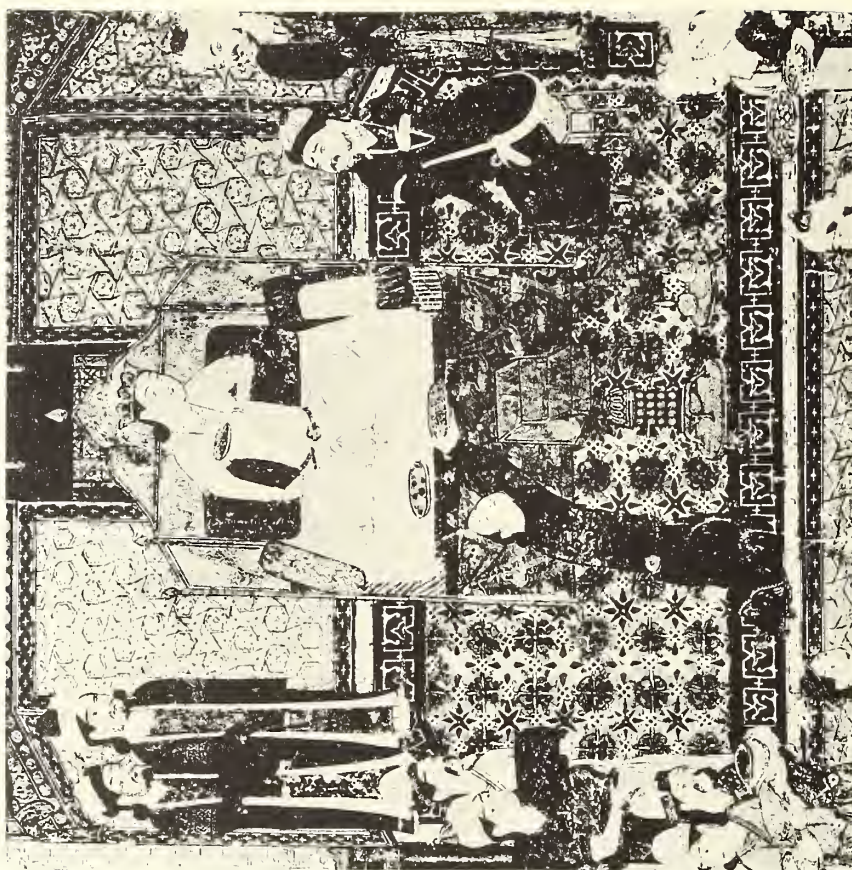
CARPET DESIGNS BASED ON THE OCTAGONAL PLAN (TYPE III)





FROM THE KIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES

FIG. 33—RUG, TYPE IIIa, KHWĀDJĪŪ KIRMĀNĪ MANUSCRIPT, 1396 (APPENDIX, No. 1b)



AFTER MARTIN

FIG. 34—DETAIL OF MINIATURE WITH RUG  
TYPE IIIa, KHWĀDJĪŪ KIRMĀNĪ MANUSCRIPT  
1396 (APPENDIX, No. 1a)





FIG. 35—RUG SHOWN IN FIGURE 34

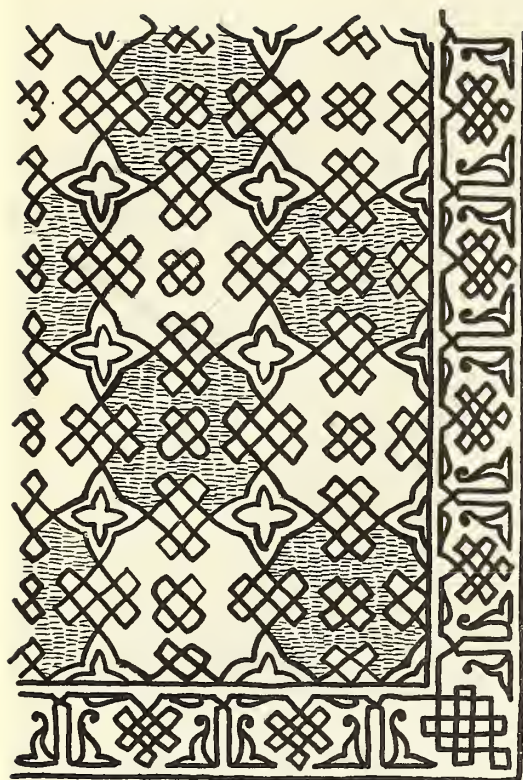


FIG. 37—RUG, TYPE IIIa, ANTHOLOGY, 1410  
(APPENDIX, NO. 3a)

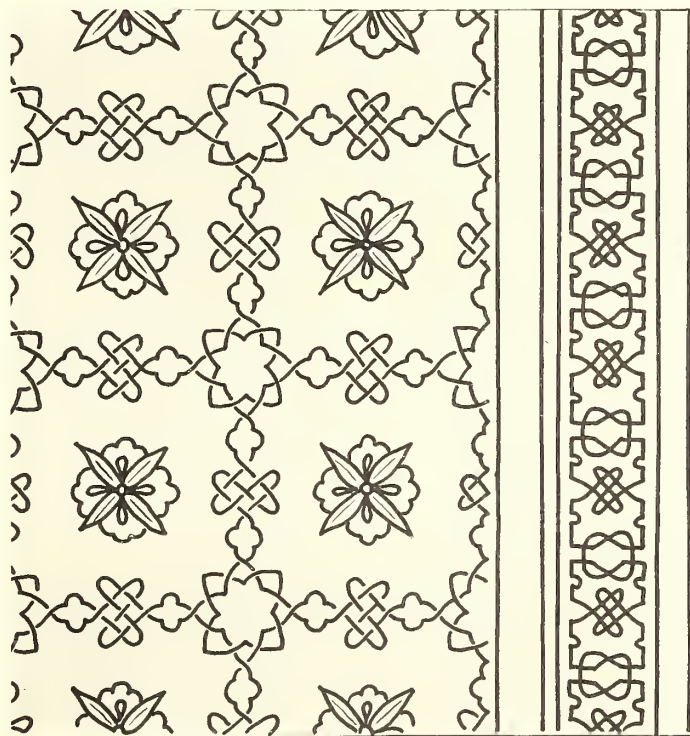


FIG. 36—RUG, TYPE IIIb, KALILA WA-DIMNA  
MANUSCRIPT, ca. 1410-20 (APPENDIX, NO. 6)

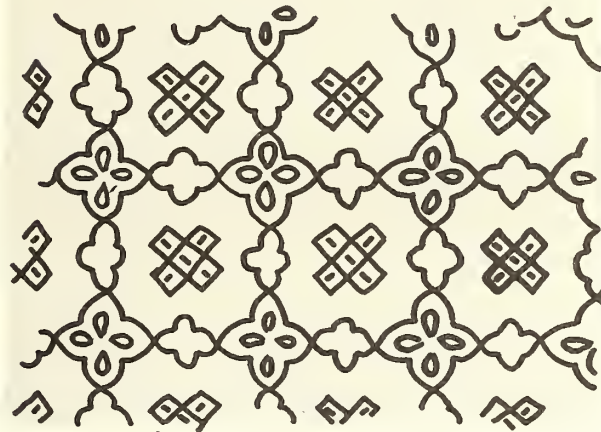


FIG. 38—RUG, TYPE IIIa, ANTHOLOGY, 1410  
(APPENDIX, NO. 3b)

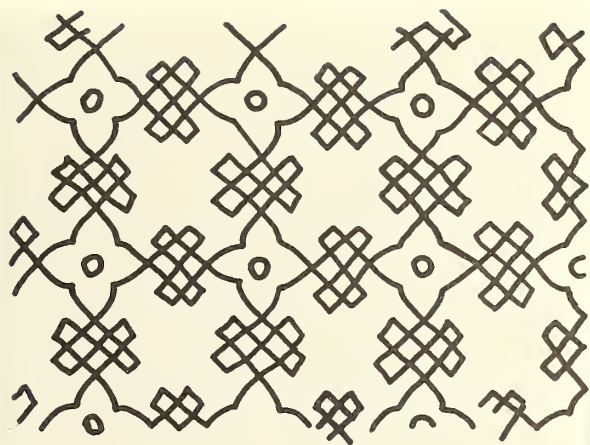
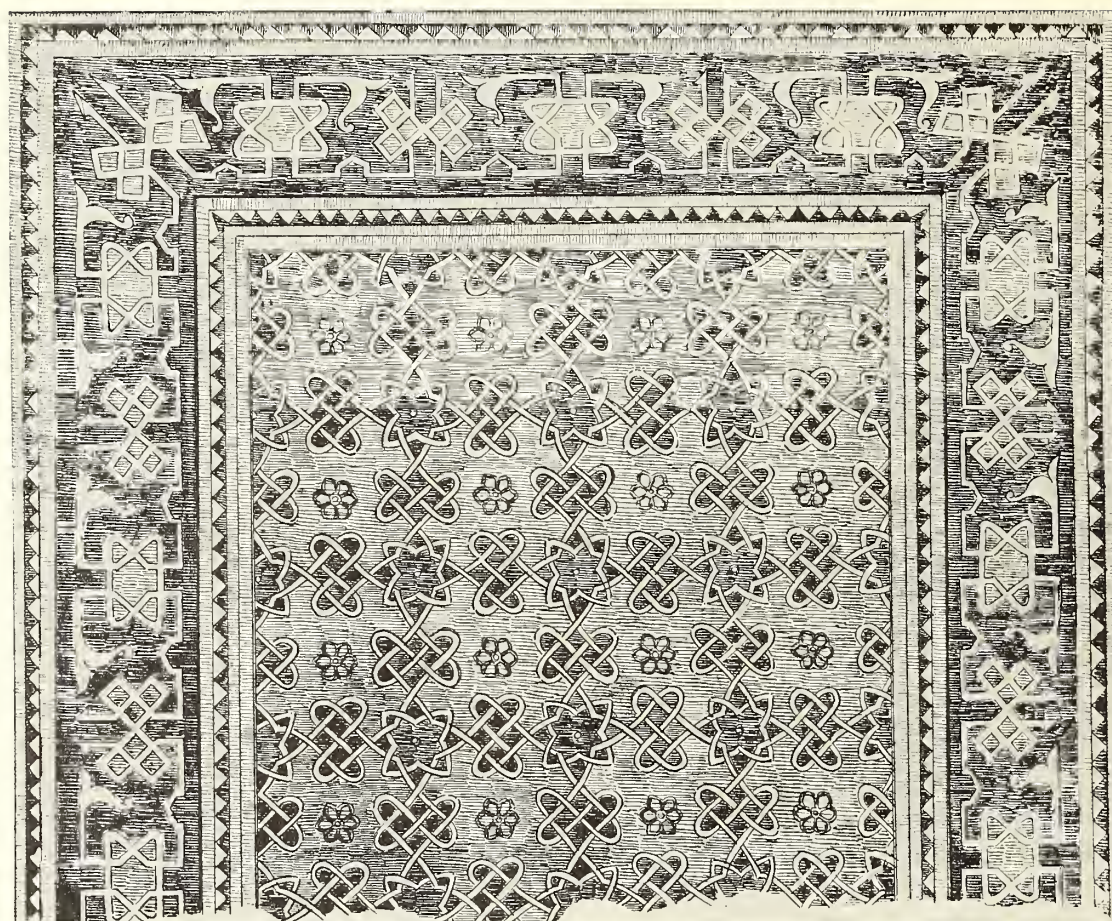


FIG. 39—RUG, TYPE IIIa, IN SAME  
MINIATURE AS FIGURE 38





FROM THE RIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES

FIG. 40—RUG, TYPE IIIa, KALĪLA WA-DIMNA MANUSCRIPT, 1430 (APPENDIX, No. 11a)

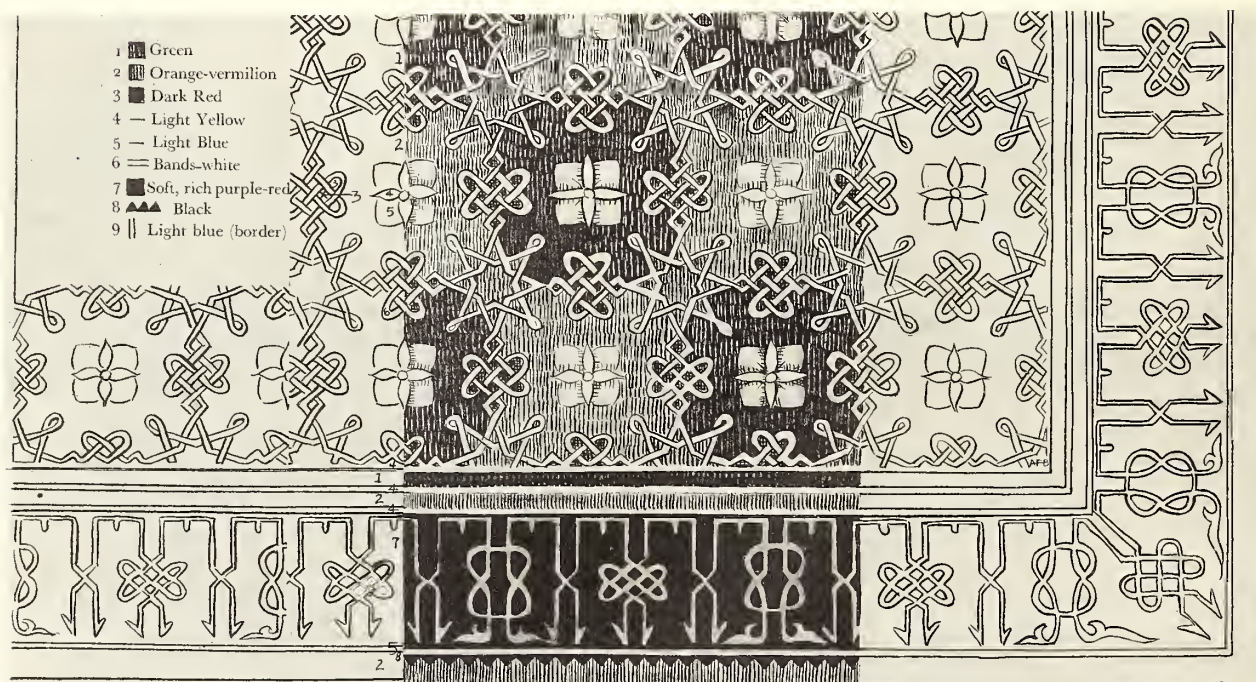


FIG. 41—RUG OF 1496, TYPE IIIa, NIZĀMĪ MANUSCRIPT, 1494 (APPENDIX, No. 44b)



In Type IIIc the octagons are staggered instead of in a straight repeat. There is a beautiful example in a *Shah Namah* of the Royal Asiatic Society (*Fig. 54*). Designs with the same geometric plan are found on a fourteenth-century Hispano-Moresque brocade with an interlaced design, in the Victoria and Albert Museum;<sup>21</sup> on a stone panel at Sivas in Asia Minor;<sup>22</sup> and on the hanging over the throne of the Madonna in Duccio's "Maesta" in Siena. Repeating patterns based on the plans of Types I, II, and III are frequent in Italian paintings of the trecento, especially in Sienese paintings, and in those by Giotto.<sup>23</sup> A pattern based on the plan of

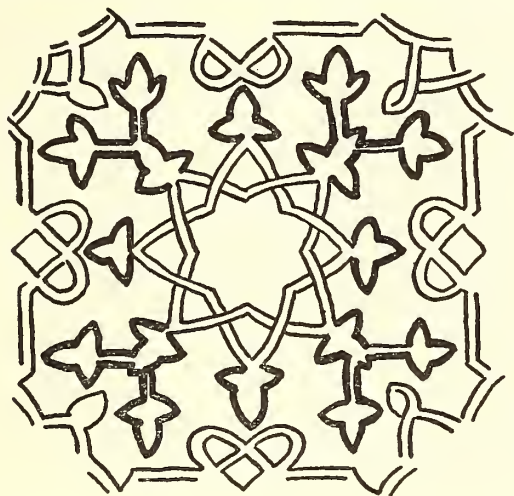
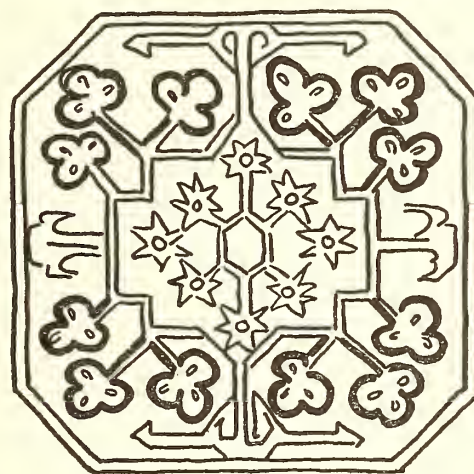


FIG. 43—OCTAGON FROM RUG, TYPE III,  
*Shah Namah* MANUSCRIPT, 1429-30  
(SEE FIG. 42)



(AFTER GROTE-HASENBALG)

FIG. 44—OCTAGON FROM A TURKOMAN RUG  
FROM AFGHANISTAN

Type II is used by Giotto to decorate the structure symbolizing the temple in three paintings in the Arena Chapel ("The Presentation of Christ," "The Blessing of the Rods," and "The Reception of the Virgin at the Temple") and repeatedly in frescoes attributed to him at San Francesco, Assisi. A whole series of almost identical fifteenth-century Hispano-Moresque brocades, like a brocade in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>24</sup> and another in the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia,<sup>25</sup> uses a variation of the same plan and is obviously related to the Timurid designs. A floor design used in a painting of the "Madonna with Four Saints" by Segna di Buonaventura, in the Art Institute, Chicago,<sup>26</sup> is so strikingly like the Timurid de-

<sup>21</sup> O. von Falke, *Seidenweberei* (Berlin, 1913), II, Fig. 371. The pattern is analyzed and illustrated by A. Christie, *Pattern Designing* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 289-90, Pl. LVIII. A sketch and photograph were found in the Riefstahl Archives.

<sup>22</sup> Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, Figs. 21, 34.

<sup>23</sup> See Figure 45. H. Bossert said it is recorded that a Sienese painter worked on the vault where this design

is found, *Pittura decorativa* (Barcelona, 1929), Pl. LXIV, 136.

<sup>24</sup> Dimand, *op. cit.*, Fig. 142, also reproduced in a Metropolitan Museum color postcard.

<sup>25</sup> No. 84, 11.

<sup>26</sup> K. Brewster, "The Ryerson Gift to the Art Institute of Chicago," *Amer. Mag. Art*, XXXI (1938), 95.

signs that it may actually represent a rug and would then be earlier than the types found in Timurid miniatures.

In an hexagonal arrangement, the compartments tend to be farther apart with an open area between. The interstices are straight bands when the hexagons are in a horizontal repeat, Type IVa (Figs. 55 and 56) and triangular areas when in a drop repeat, Type IVb (Fig. 57). A unique rug in the *Shah Namah* dated 1429-30, in the Gulistan Museum in Teheran (Appendix, No. 10e), has a row of widely spaced hexagons in the center of the field. The



(AFTER BOSSERT)

FIG. 45—DESIGN FROM THE VAULT, LOWER CHURCH, SAN FRANCISCO, ASSISI

decoration of the hexagons is severely geometrical. Although not nearly so common as the octagonal plan, the hexagonal arrangement is found in two manuscripts rich in illustrations of convincing carpets: the above mentioned Gulistan *Shah Namah* of 1429-30 (Fig. 56 and Appendix, No. 10e), and the British Museum's Nizāmī illustrated by Bihzād and Mīrak, dated 1494 (Figs. 57 and 61).

Type V, based on circles, is represented by the rug of Figure 58, where the roundels are staggered and not tangent. The design is similar to that of Figure 56 with hexagonal design, from a contemporary manuscript, and is so closely related in plan that it might better be classified as a variation of Type IV. The hexagon is easily transformed into a lobed medallion, or vice versa, and the knots are used in a similar way. The original division of the rectangle into 30°/60° triangles is the same for both types (See small plan, Fig. 61). Two other geometric carpets use circular medallions. One, in a late fifteenth-century manuscript (Fig. 60), has in the center of the field a large lobed roundel and at each end in triangular formation, three smaller roundels like those of Figure 58, except that they lack any suggestion of plant forms. The relation of the other carpet with roundels (Fig. 59) to the octagonal plan has been mentioned.

The close relation of Types IV and V is seen in the design of Figure 61, the most sophis-



ticated of all the carpets with an allover pattern, which therefore deserves special analysis. This design may be thought of as an elaboration of the much earlier one of Figure 58, in which the diamonds, in line with the centers of the roundels, carry the radiating movement from one circle to another. The complicated knots have the same position in relation to the centers of the units, but in this design are pushed out to the edge of the circle (structural, not visible) at the points where it is tangent to the next circle. The compartments are no longer framed

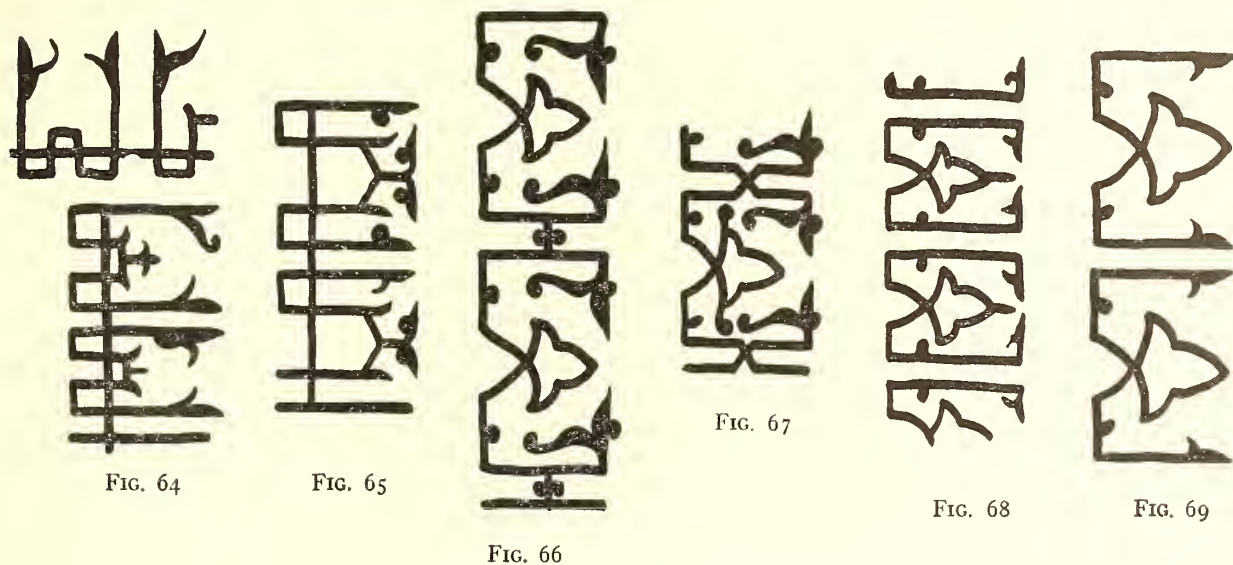


FIG. 64—*Anthology*, 1410 (SEE FIG. 62)  
 FIG. 65—"FEAST OF GHĀZĀN KHĀN IN A GARDEN" (APPENDIX, No. 26b)  
 FIG. 66—*KHWĀDĪŪ KIRMĀNĪ* MANUSCRIPT, 1396 (SEE FIG. 46)  
 FIG. 67—FROM RUG IN SAME MINIATURE AS FIGURE 66  
 FIG. 68—FROM *Shah Namah*, 1438 (SEE FIG. 21)  
 FIG. 69—FROM *NIZĀMĪ* MANUSCRIPT, 1494 (FIELD OF RUG, FIG. 28)

#### KUFIC BORDERS WITHOUT KNOTS

by the bands which interlace to form the knots. The bands, which are actually stems, radiate from one of two interlacing six-pointed stars that form the centers of the repeat (compare *Fig. 49*). Each knot serves to frame two of the suggested hexagons (as do the knots of Figure 57, but there the hexagons are still outlined by bands). In Figure 61 the clearly defined frame seen in the early geometric carpets is dissolved.

This elaborate design is achieved by revolving the small 30°/60° triangle (indicated at the lower right corner) twelve times around the centers of each complete circle, reversing the triangle at each turn. The tiny trefoils exactly fill the interstices between the large circles which form the structural basis of the design.

The rug is so covered that it is impossible to ascertain the complete plan. A few points of its construction are clear—the bottom and top edges of the field and the corner which the

painter so nonchalantly improvises in his miniature without connecting it with the rest of the field (the placing of his figures made this unnecessary) could not have existed in the rug. Half the knot makes a very happy motif for the edge of the field as it appears at the top and bottom, but could not possibly come along the sides too since the sides cannot be like the top and bottom in an hexagonal design. The small plan at the left of the drawing shows the relation of circles and  $30^{\circ}/60^{\circ}$  triangles in this design and also in the design of an illuminated first page of a manuscript dated 1436.<sup>27</sup> The resemblance of the two designs is striking, though the illumination is more complicated. If the plan of the carpet is the same as that of the illumination, then the end of the field must have been approximately at 9 in the drawing. The plan of a similar contemporary design in faïence mosaic at Isfahan ends at 10.<sup>28</sup> A related Seljuk design in stone was found by Riefstahl at Sivas.<sup>29</sup>

There are two other arabesque carpets with allover repeating patterns, but the cursive character of their designs and their relationship to many later floral and medallion carpets do

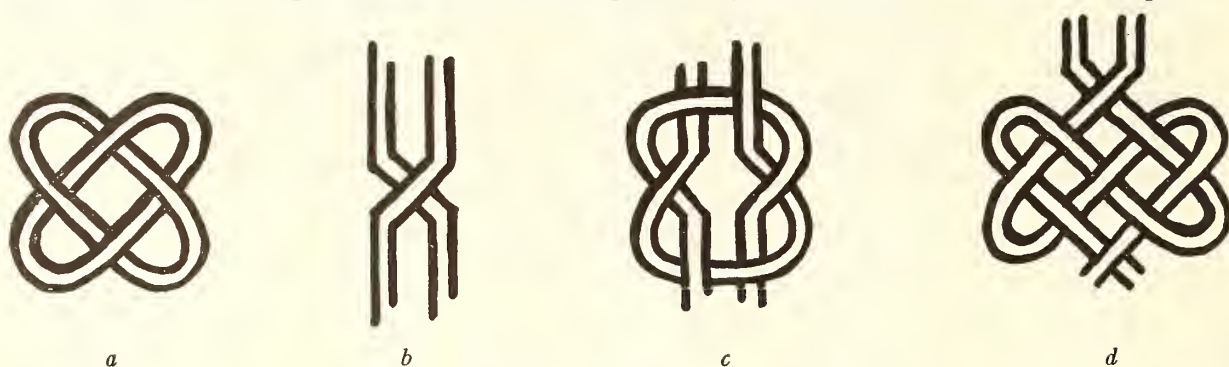


FIG. 70—INTERLACED MOTIFS COMMON IN TIMURID CARPETS

not admit their classification with the geometric group. A rug in a manuscript dated 1431, in the Turkish and Islamic Museum in Istanbul (Appendix, No. 12a), has a repeating pattern based on interlacing stems forming ogives and decorative motifs similar to those of the semi-geometric carpets (Figs. 49 and 61). That it stems from a design tradition related to the geometric group is suggested by the presence of similar designs among the Seljuk stone reliefs in Anatolia. As has already been seen, two of these reliefs are related to Timurid geometric carpets.<sup>30</sup> Another design of great significance is found in a carpet which has a repeating scheme of alternating palmette compartments somewhat similar to Figure 49 and which is very obviously related to floral carpets associated with Herat. The border is identical with that of Figure 24 (Appendix, No. 52a).

Two geometric medallion carpets are illustrated in late fifteenth-century manuscripts (Fig. 60 and Appendix, No. 37e). The plan of one in the *Khamsa* of Emir Khusrau of Delhi

<sup>27</sup> Formerly in the Martin collection in Stockholm (Martin, *op. cit.*, Fig. 66); R. Ettinghausen, "Book II-illumination," *A Survey of Persian Art*, V, Pl. 952 A.

<sup>28</sup> The panel is dated 1489-90 A.D. (895 H.); A.

Godard, "Isfahān," *Atthār-e Īrān*, II (1937), Fig. 19.

<sup>29</sup> Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, Figs. 25, 41.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Figs. 38 and 42 similar to this carpet; Figs. 34 and 41 related to Timurid geometric types.



dated 1485, in the A. Chester Beatty collection, has a central medallion with pendants and corner areas just as in arabesque and floral medallion carpets, but all the forms are angularized. The ground is striped, and the center and corners have a geometric star design.

Geometric rug plans are by no means always immediately apparent, as they frequently seem, at first glance, to be quite different from what they actually are. For example, the relation of Figure 35 to the octagonal plan is not at all obvious. But the schemes readily become clear when one undertakes their analysis. The Timurid geometric carpets have a bold and vigorous simplicity which distinguishes them from the elaborate and complicated Safawid carpets and from much Islamic geometric ornament.<sup>31</sup> When the same plan is used in a rug

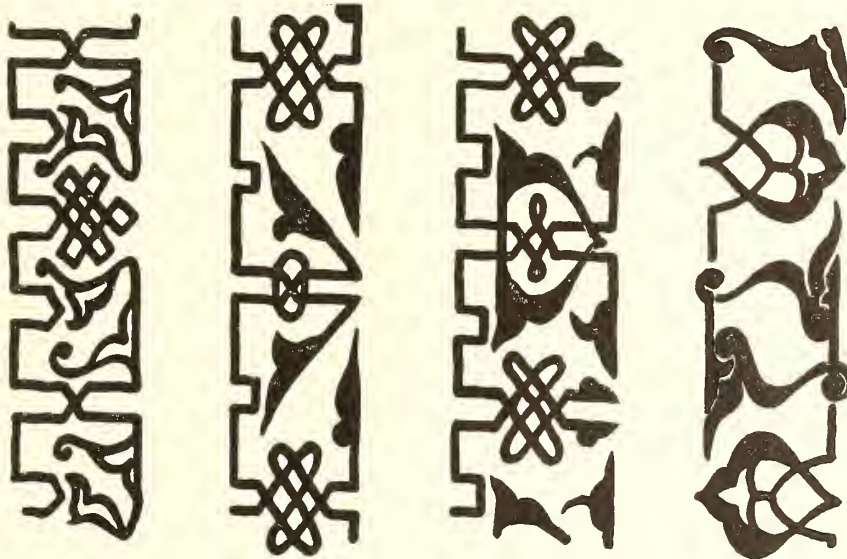


FIG. 71

FIG. 72

FIG. 73

FIG. 74

FIG. 71—*KHWĀDJĪ KIRMĀNĪ* MANUSCRIPT, 1396 (SEE FIG. 33)

FIG. 72—*NIẒĀMĪ* MANUSCRIPT, 1442 (APPENDIX, NO. 54*d*)

FIG. 73—*MĪR 'ALĪ-SHĪR NAWĀ'Ī* MANUSCRIPT, 1485 (APPENDIX, NO. 39*b*)

FIG. 74—*NIẒĀMĪ* MANUSCRIPT, 1442 (SEE FIG. 72; APPENDIX, NO. 54*b*)

KUFIC BORDERS WITH KNOTS

and for illumination the rug is always less complex. Though relatively simple, typical Timurid geometric carpets nevertheless possess sophistication and lack the angularity and naïveté of primitive or nomadic designs.

The size and shape of the geometric rugs vary considerably. Some, especially among the earlier examples, are narrow runners with fields only one or two units in width (*Fig. 21* and other carpets illustrated by Martin from the same manuscript, which are even longer, Appendix, No. 15; *Fig. 33*). Others are very large, like the rug of Figures 34 and 35, which seems to

<sup>31</sup> The plans of the complicated arabesque designs studied and described by E. H. Hankin could not be determined until he had mastered the secret of their con-

struction; "The Drawing of Geometric Patterns in Saracenic Art," *Archaeol. Surv. India*, XV (1925).

be polygonal rather than rectangular, as if, perhaps, it were woven to fit a polygonal alcove. The actual shape of the rug, or the conventions of Persian perspective, may be responsible for this effect, but the assumption of a five-sided carpet for Figure 49 seems very plausible.<sup>32</sup> The tile-pattern rugs of the "Paladins in the Snow" are very tiny (Appendix, No. 22a). With the little prayer rug (Appendix, No. 14) they are perhaps the nearest approach to the representation of everyday noncourtly rugs to be found in the Timurid miniatures.

Just as few favorite ways of planning the space divisions are featured in the geometric carpets, so also the repertoire of motifs which enrich the designs is comparatively limited. One distinguishing feature is the interlacing of narrow bands, both in the border and in the field, where the forms are outlined by interlacing bands and where knots again and again bind the units together or are introduced as pure decoration. Interlacings were used in late Roman floor and ceiling decoration and were common in Coptic textiles. The course taken by the bands is always obvious in Roman and Coptic interlacings. Even in a late Roman mosaic border entirely of these,<sup>33</sup> there is no mystery about where the bands are moving. They are simply woven like a basket. Just as geometrical design in general was given a special significance in Muhammadan art, interlacing particularly reached new heights of development.

The borders of all types of Timurid carpets are almost invariably composed of white or slightly tinted bands on a dark ground. The bands interlace, form loops and knots, or terminate in stylized leaflets. The knots are identical in form with those used in braided Kufic inscriptions; the stylized leaflets are also borrowed from Kufic characters. Such Kufic borders maintained their popularity throughout the entire fifteenth century and were used even to frame arabesque and floral rugs into the sixteenth century (*Fig. 63*).<sup>34</sup>

Knots identical with those in Timurid carpet borders were used on pieces of Persian inlaid metal of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. On the bronze kettle in the Hermitage Museum, which is signed and dated in Herat (559 H./1163 A.D.),<sup>35</sup> the knots are in a legible Kufic border around the middle of the vessel. Very early, the braided forms were used for surface decoration only, as in the border of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century brass ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where the characters under the knots are rendered with little or no thought to legibility.<sup>36</sup> The basic elements of a group of Kufic letters are preserved in the unknotted borders of several Mongol and Timurid rugs (*Figs. 64-69*, Appendix, No. 24). Sakisian thinks that the border with Kufic characters "faithfully rendered" and without knots of Figure 65 indicates the representation of an old carpet or the survival of an older type.<sup>37</sup> The

<sup>32</sup> Later carpets were sometimes of irregular shape to fit a special place, like the carpet dated 1681 from the Mausoleum of Shah Abbas II at Kum; Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art*, Fig. 68.

<sup>33</sup> A. Riegl, *Stilfragen* (Berlin, 1923), Fig. 140.

<sup>34</sup> For other representations of cursive sixteenth-century rugs with Kufic borders, see a sixteenth-century east Persian miniature, in the Fogg Museum; "The Sources of Modern Painting, a Loan Exhibition Assembled from American Public and Private Collections,

by the Institute of Modern Art," Boston, 1939, No. 52; and M. S. Dimand, *Guide to Islamic Miniature Painting* (New York, 1933-34), No. 21.

<sup>35</sup> R. Harari, "Metalwork after the Early Islamic Period," *Survey of Persian Art*, VI, Pl. 1308.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 1327. I am indebted to Mrs. Grace T. Whitney at the Freer Gallery for advice on these inscriptions.

<sup>37</sup> "Les Tapis de Perse à la lumière des arts du livre," *Artibus Asiae*, V (1935), 15.



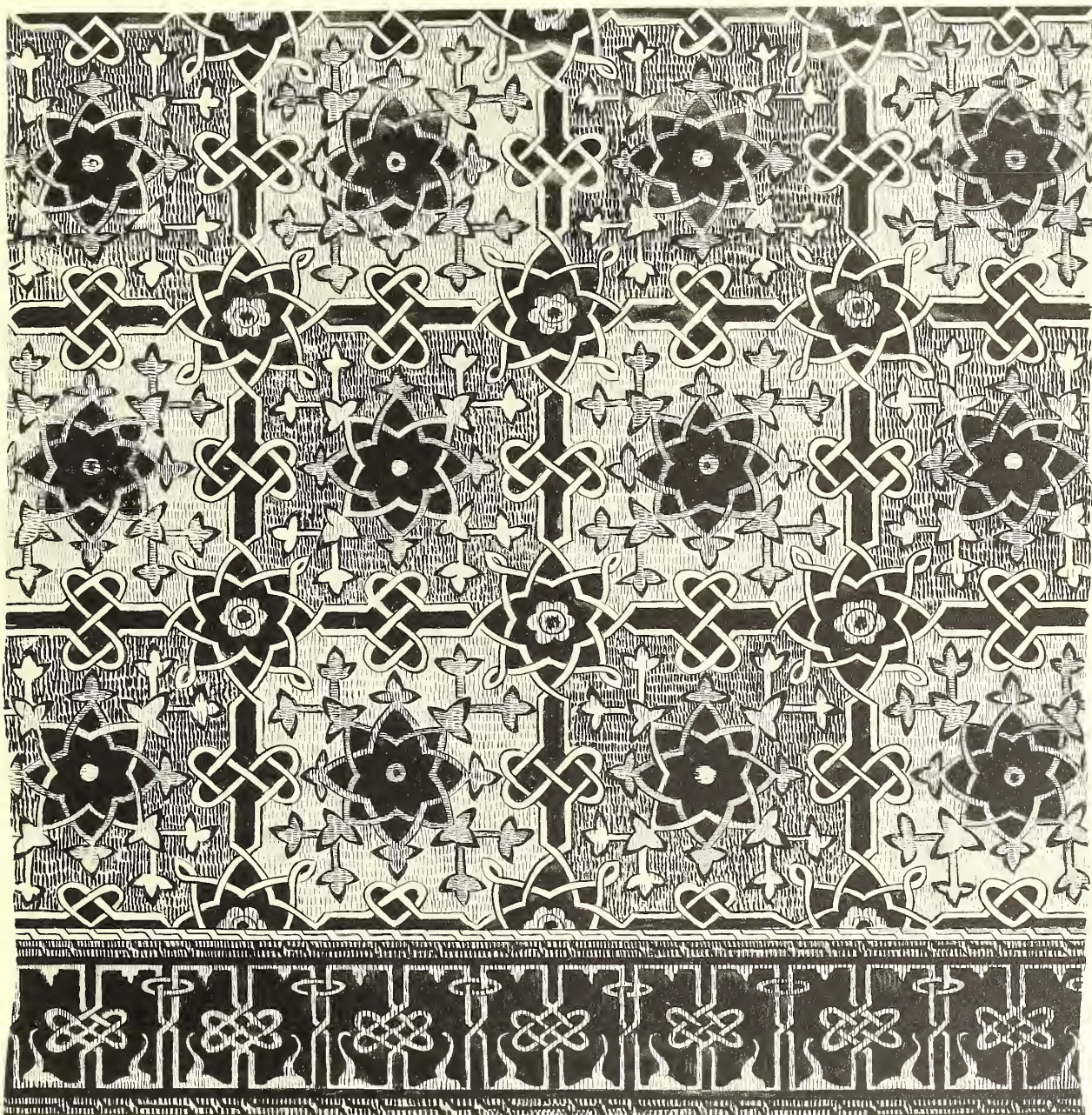


FIG. 42—RUG, TYPE IIIb, SHAH NAMAH MANUSCRIPT, 1429-30 (APPENDIX, No. 10b)



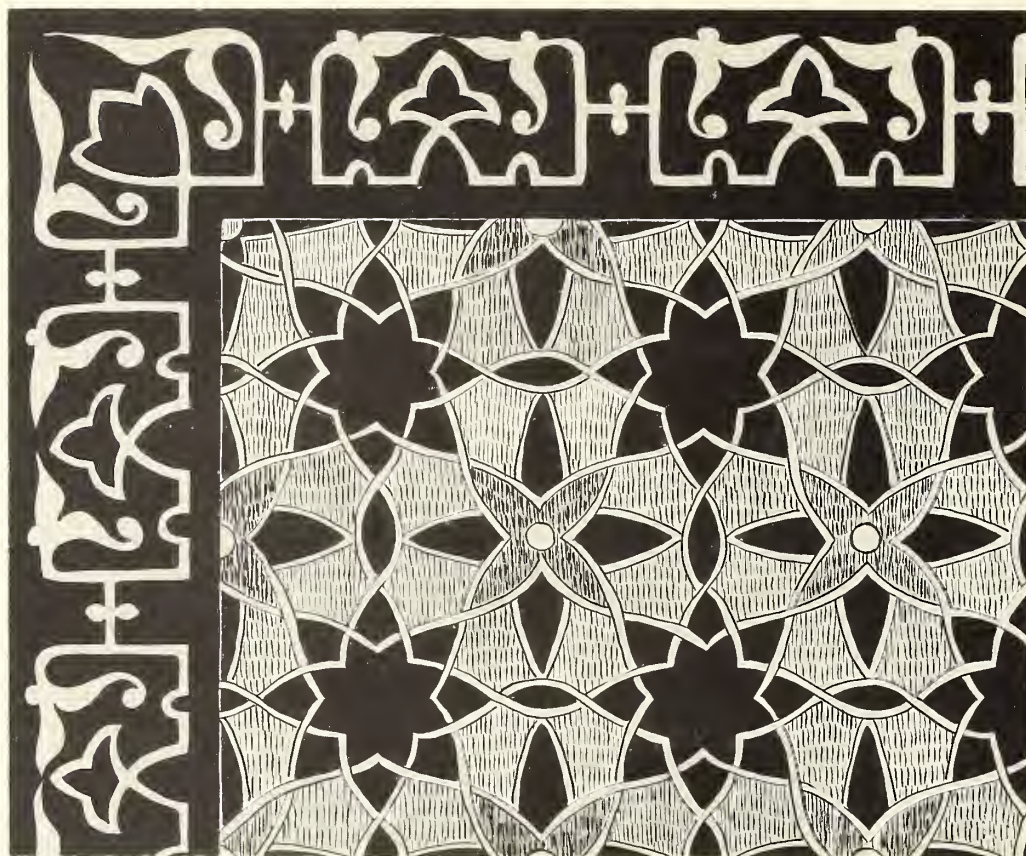


FIG. 46—RUG, TYPE IIIa, KHWĀDJŪ KIRMĀNĪ MANUSCRIPT, 1396 (APPENDIX, No. 1d)

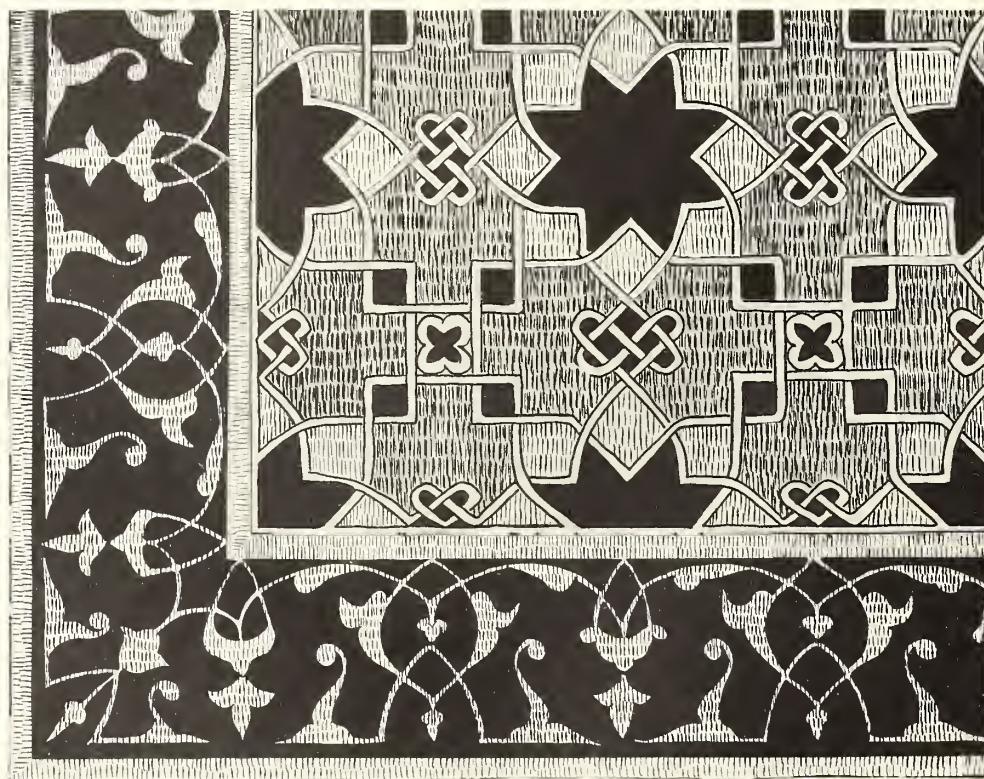


FIG. 47—RUG, VARIATION OF TYPE IIIa, KHAMSA, EMIR KHUSRAU OF DELHI, 1485 (APPENDIX, No. 37a)



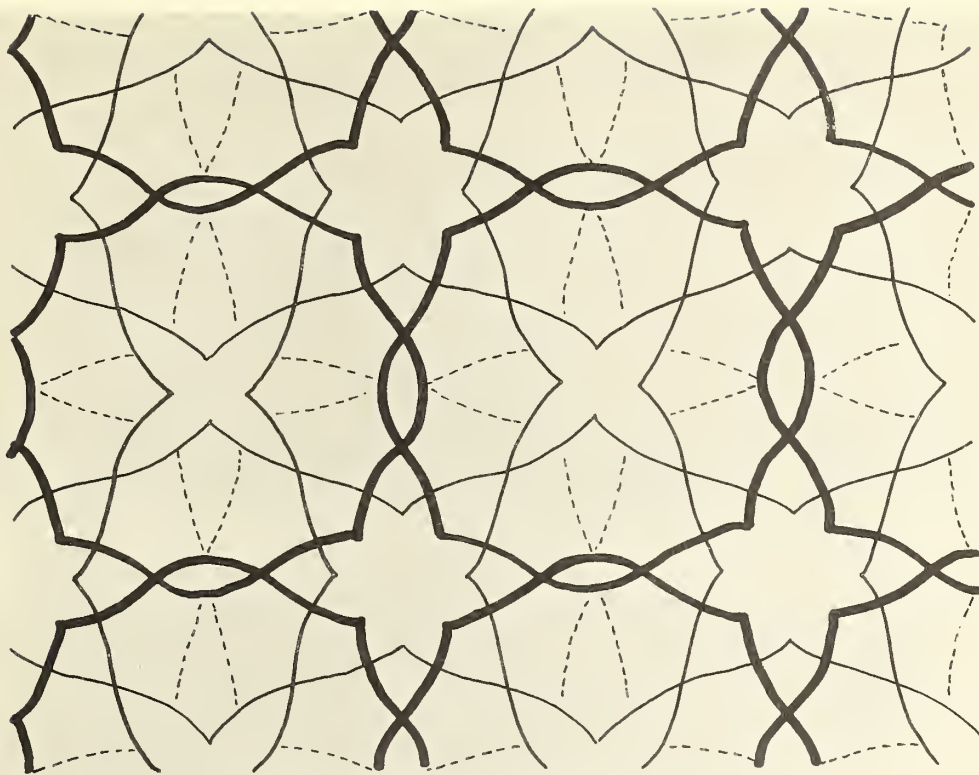


FIG. 50—DIAGRAM OF LINE SCHEME OF FIGURE 46

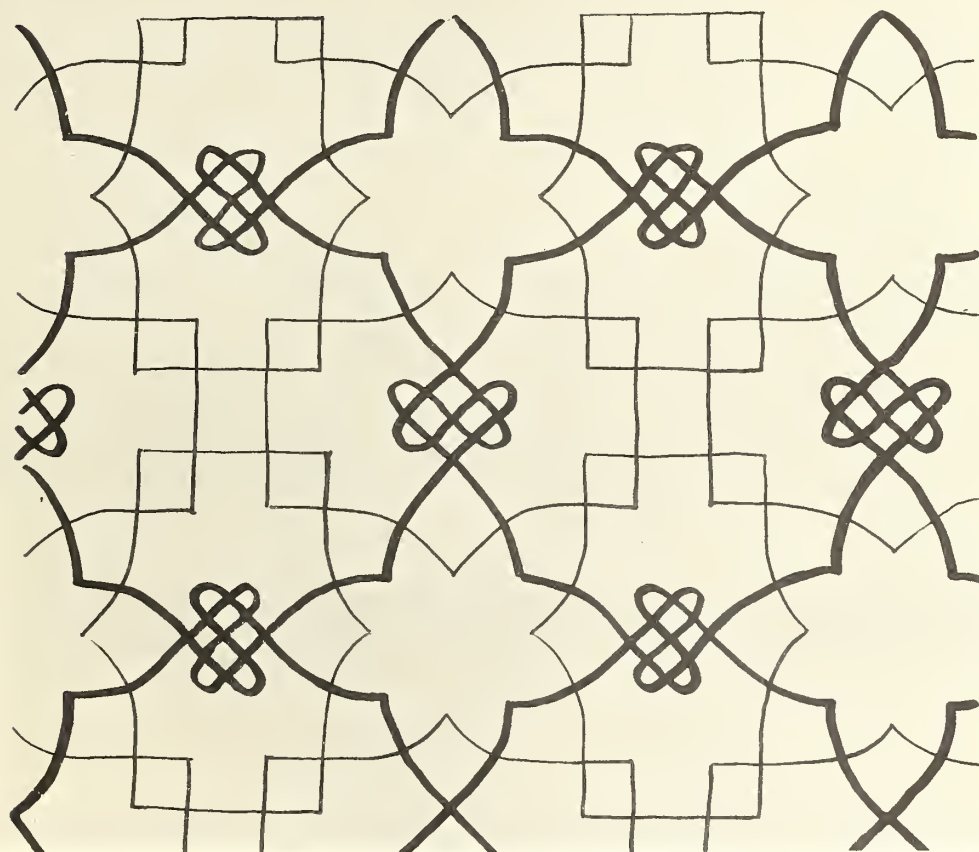
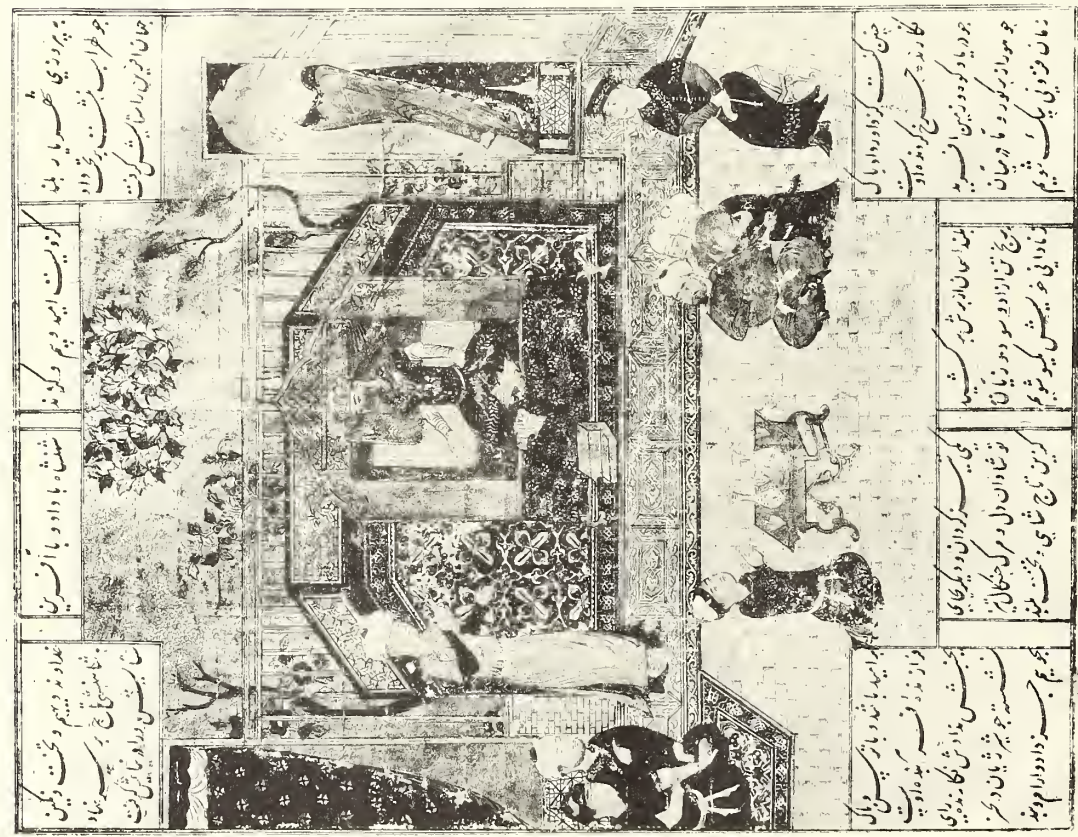


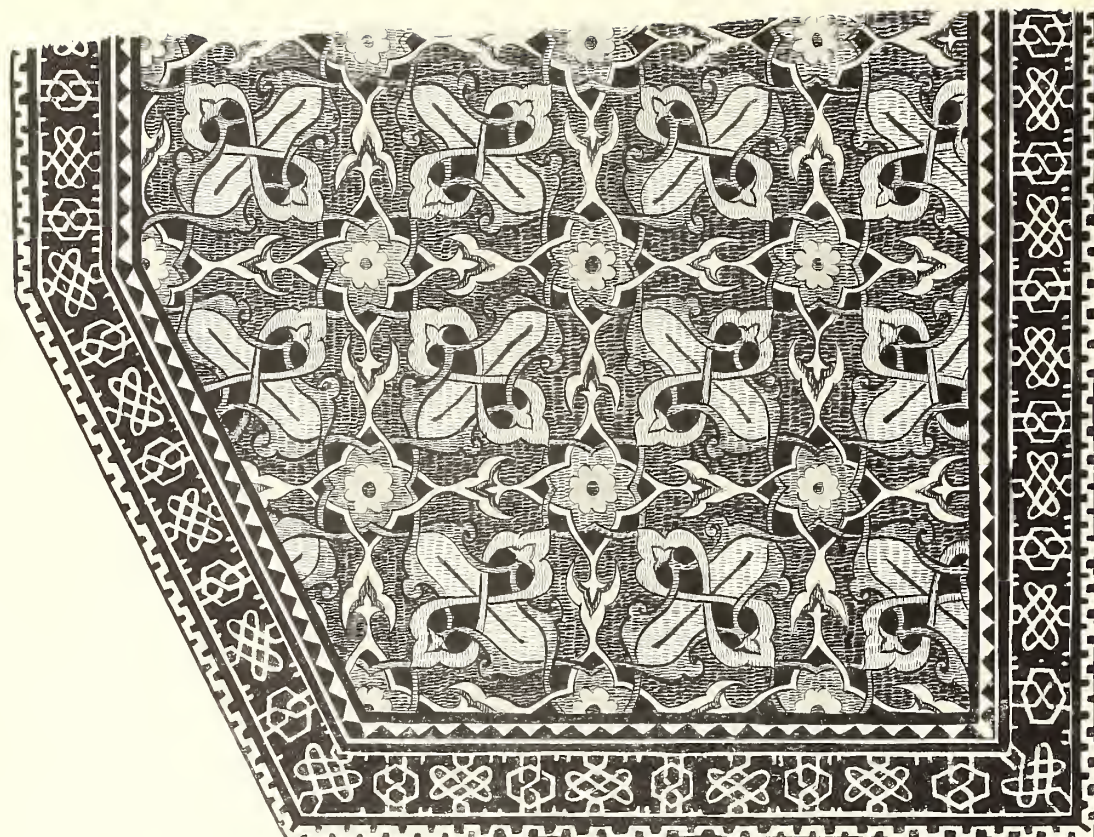
FIG. 51—DIAGRAM OF LINE SCHEME OF FIGURE 47





PHOTOGRAPH: DeLOREY

FIG. 48—MINIATURE, FROM A SHAH NAMAH, ca. 1450 (APPENDIX, No. 29)



FROM THE RIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES

FIG. 49—RUG, VARIATION OF TYPE IIIa IN MINIATURE SHOWN IN FIGURE 48 (APPENDIX, No. 29a)



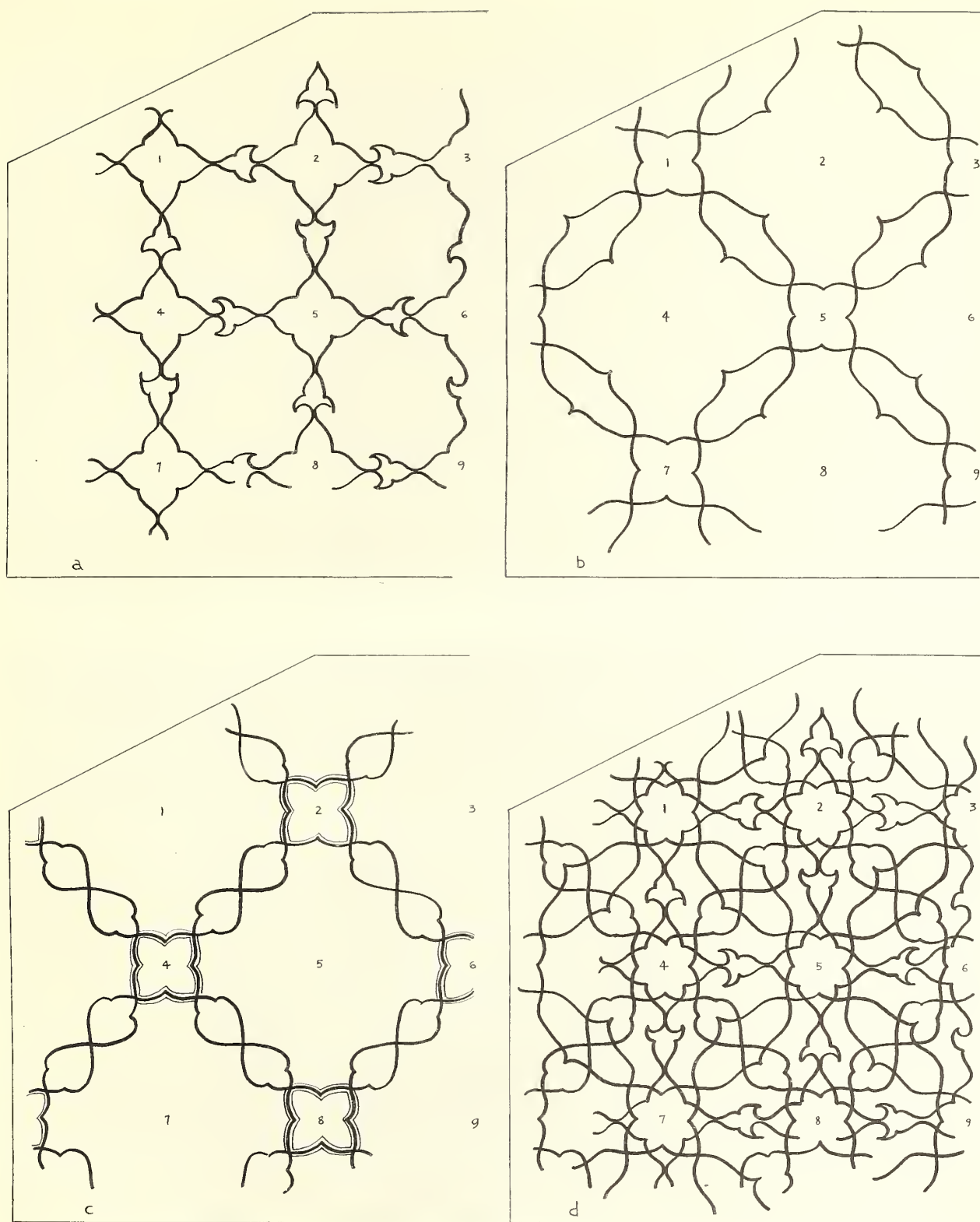


FIG. 52—DIAGRAMS OF LINE SCHEME OF FIGURE 49





FROM THE RIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES

FIG. 53—RUG, TYPE III*b*, SHAH NAMA OF SULTAN ALI MIRZA (APPENDIX, No. 47*c*)



White  
 Yellow or Gold  
 Orange-vermilion  
 Green  
 Blue  
 Brown  
 Black

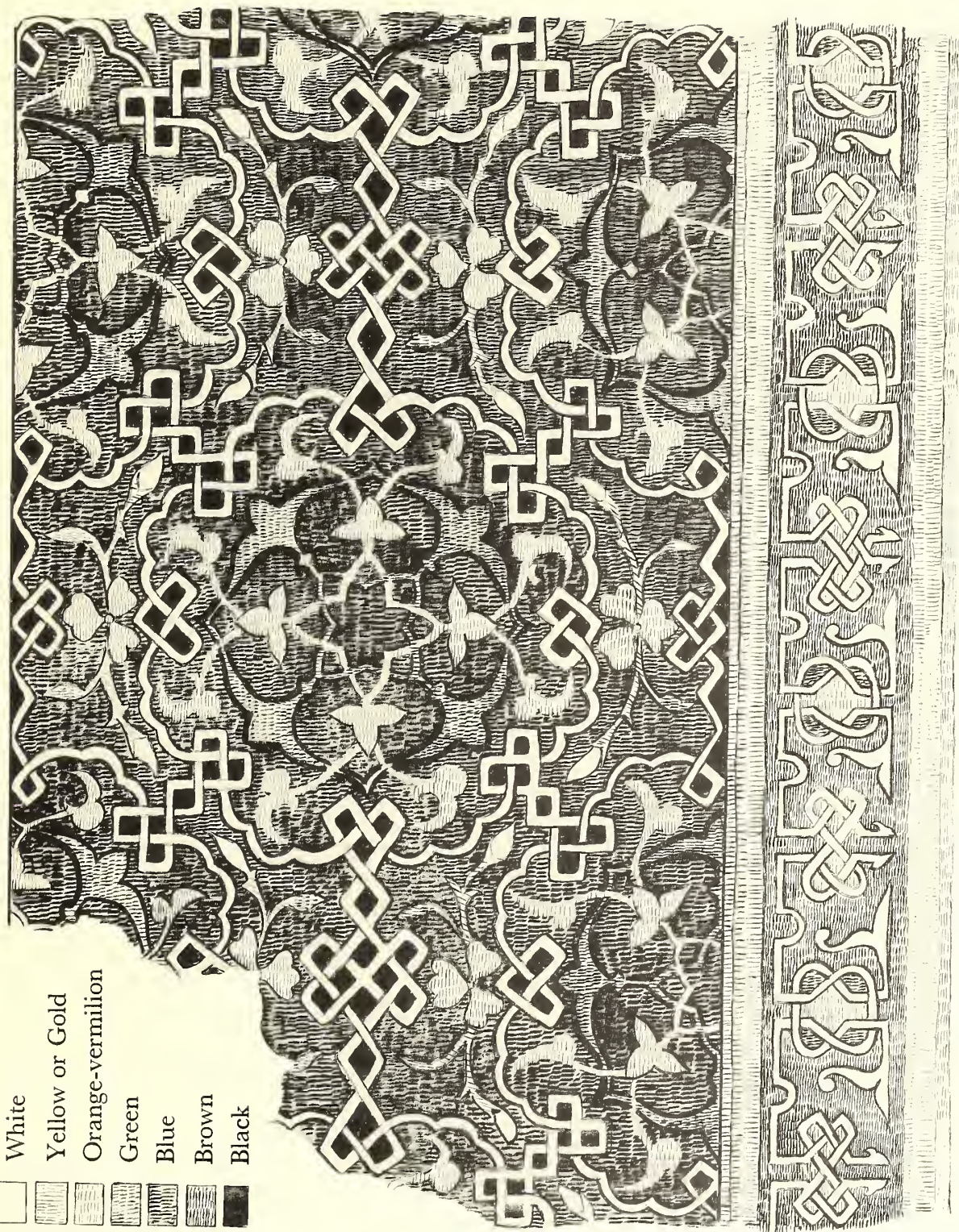


FIG. 54—RUG, TYPE IIIc, SHAH NAMAH, ca. 1440 (APPENDIX, No. 22b)



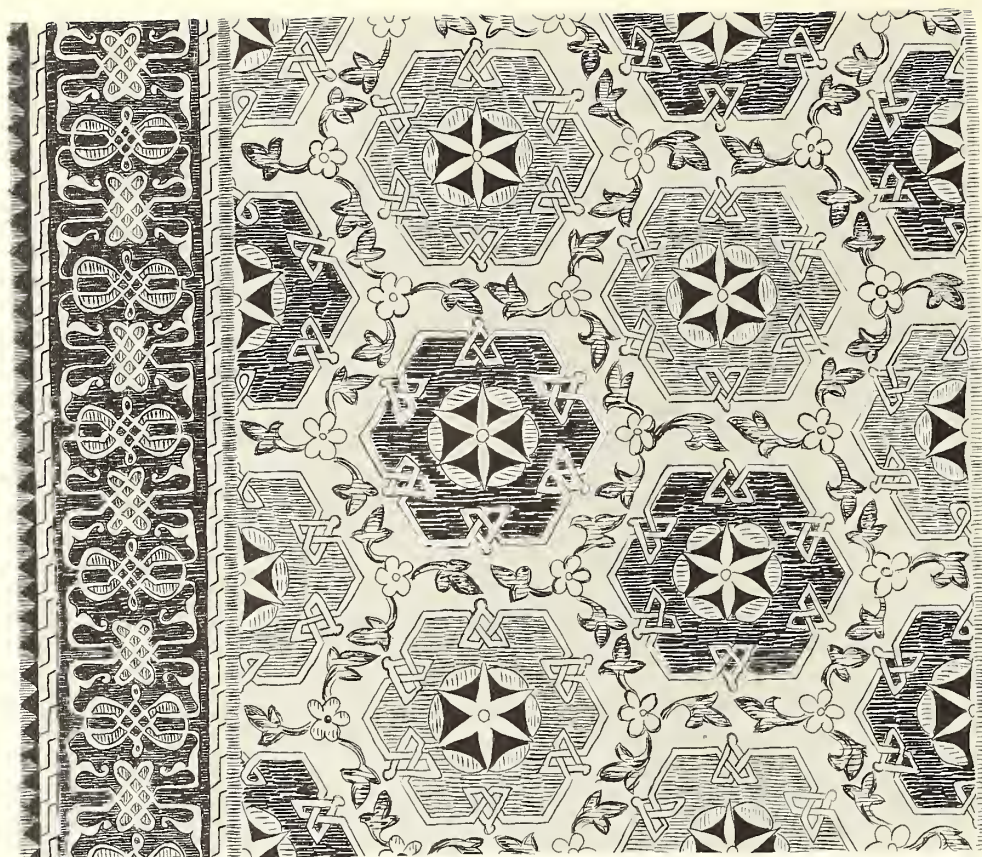


FIG. 56—RUG, TYPE IVa, SHAH NĀMAH, 1429-30 (APPENDIX, No. 10c)



FROM THE RIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES

FIG. 55—RUG, TYPE IVa, SMALL RUG FROM FIGURE 48 (APPENDIX, No. 29b)



same could be true of all these unknotted borders. None of the carpets on which they are found are typical examples of Timurid style. There is a border identical with Figure 68 on a rug illustrated in a late fourteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>38</sup>

The range of knot forms is much wider in the metal work than in the carpets. Figure 70, *b*, *c*, and *d* illustrates the three most common survivors. The simplest interlaced motif is formed by the transposition of two parallel bands (*Fig. 70b*). It is found in combination with other interlaced motifs throughout the Timurid period (*Figs. 23, 33, and 61*).

Figure 70*c* also alternates with other motifs (*Figs. 22, 36, 40, etc.*). It is a simple cross knot formed by two bands coming from opposite directions which describe a loop, crossing each other six times, and return parallel to the course taken in approaching the knot.<sup>39</sup>

A more complicated motif, Figure 70*d*, seems to have entered Islamic art in the braided Kufic inscriptions. Usually, it is an elaboration of Figure 70*b*, each band describing two loops and interlacing nine times, but it may be made entirely by one band which loops over itself at the bottom, as in Figure 71. It was used in Persia as an independent decorative motif as early as the thirteenth century, when braided Kufic still flourished. On a pen box in the Freer Gallery dated 607 H. (1210 A.D.)<sup>40</sup> a more complicated form of this knot is inserted, for pure ornament, into the middle of the inscription bearing the signature. On the side of another pen box dated 680 H. (1281 A.D.) it is combined with scrolls terminating in animal heads.<sup>41</sup> In the fourteenth century it was used in book illumination (*Fig. 26*), and in textiles,<sup>42</sup> as well as in metal work. It is the most common of the interlaced motifs in the Timurid carpets, both in the border and in the field, where its use to connect the units becomes somewhat monotonous.

Interlacings are often used purely decoratively as space-fillers (*Figs. 21, 25, 37, 38, etc.*). The central motif of the octagons in Figures 37 and 38, inherited from Roman pavements, is formed by two intersecting loops (*Fig. 70a*). In an earlier design (*Fig. 35*), it serves as a connecting motif, though it is a unit in itself and is obviously less suited to this function than is the true knot of Figure 70*d*. With the exception of the border of Figure 61, which is less functional, the more complex knots of Bihzād's Kufic borders (Appendix, Nos. 41*b*, 42*a*, *c*, and 44*e*), and the radial designs of Figures 49 and 61, where the interlacing bands become stems, interlacings undergo little change throughout the fifteenth century.

Decorative motifs other than these, consist of stars, rosettes, simple leaf and flower motifs, and, occasionally, arabesque forms. In Type I, where interlacing does not occur (except in the Kufic borders) the only decoration except lines, crosses, and circles, is a quatrefoil, or

<sup>38</sup> E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1914-20), Pl. XIV.

<sup>39</sup> This form is much older than braided Kufic. It is found on a Coptic textile in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 89.1858).

<sup>40</sup> E. Herzfeld, "A Bronze Pen Case," *Ars Islamica*, III (1936), 35-43, Fig. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Harari, "Metalwork after the Early Islamic Period," Pl. 1336 (an early use of this motif popular in Timurid and Safawid decorative art). The knot is used

as pure decoration much earlier on a Rakka bowl in the Metropolitan Museum, dated by Dimand as eleventh or twelfth century. The knot is the central motif. The ends at one side of the knot terminate in dragon heads, the other ends in tails. Thus, the motif becomes the intertwined bodies of two dragons. Dimand, *op. cit.*, Fig. 95.

<sup>42</sup> An Egypto-Syrian damask, von Falke, *op. cit.*, Fig. 352.

arrangement of four separate leaves admirably suited to fill the square spaces of the field (*Figs. 9, 15, and 16*).

In carpets of Types II and III the enrichment of the geometric plan is very similar. The favorite scheme for the interstice is an eight-pointed star or star-rosette between the octagons in Type III, and at the centers of the crosses in Type II. For the central motif, the almost invariable solution is a rosette more floral in character, formed by superimposing a quatrefoil with pointed petals on another flower form (*Figs. 22, 23, and 36, etc.*). The lower flower frequently has rounded lobes or petals and is sometimes almost identical with that used in Sasanian textiles, for example, one represented at Tāk-i Bustān.<sup>43</sup> Both the quatrefoil of Type I and the rosettes of Types II and III are late antique in origin.

Leaf and flower forms are stylized with few exceptions. One of the carpets in the *Khawādjū Kirmānī* dated 1396 (Appendix, No. 1c) has a narrow outer border with an undulating vine supporting rather naturalistic leaves and flowers. As Riefstahl<sup>44</sup> pointed out, the flowers that fill the octagons of Figure 53 show Chinese influence, but flowers as naturalistic as these are almost unique in the geometric carpets, in spite of their frequent appearance in other fields of early Timurid art. There is another exception in Figure 54, where flowers and leaves identical with some employed as architectural ornament in the same miniature, are used in the interspacial areas. Stylized trifoliate leaflets (*Figs. 42, 56, and 58*) figure in the decorative schemes of several early Timurid rugs. Their arrangement in Figure 42 is a unique feature of this rug, which is one of the strongest and most original of the geometric carpets. There is something highly suggestive of later Turkoman rugs in both the design and color (*Figs. 43 and 44*). The trifoliate leaf, either pointed as in the Timurid examples or rounded as in the Afghan carpets, was used to ornament the central motif in rugs illustrated in miniatures prior to the Timurid period (*Fig. 27*). It is found in rounded form strikingly like that of Figure 44 on a rug in a fourteenth-century miniature.<sup>45</sup> The field pattern of a rug already proved to be related to a pre-Timurid type (*Fig. 28*) has crossed stems and leaves similar to those of Figure 27. It is impossible in the reproductions to be positive about the exact shape of the leaves in Figures 27 and 28, but it is obvious that the motif is somewhat related to a mid-thirteenth-century design on the vault in the lower church of San Francesco at Assisi (*Fig. 45*).

Arabesque motifs appear in the fields of a few semigeometric carpets (*Figs. 49, 53, 54, and 61*). One of the unique features of Figure 53 is the treatment of the interspacial areas. In place of the stars are quatrefoil motifs formed by crossed stems bearing forked arabesque leaves at each end. A similar arrangement is used in the octagons of Figure 54. There is another instance of the use of this form as an interspacial device in Figure 59.<sup>46</sup> It is found in angularized form in Holbein carpets (*Fig. 31*).

<sup>43</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), Pl. LXII.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

<sup>45</sup> See page 28, footnote 16.

<sup>46</sup> The motif has almost the same form and function in a seventeenth-century ceramic revetement in Sindh; R. Pfister, *Les Toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan* (Paris, 1938), Fig. 36.



A few geometric rugs have arabesque borders. On the border of a rug from the 1396 *Khwādjū Kirmānī*, forked arabesque leaves growing from the tips of the leaves that terminate the interlacing extend up and partially enclose the knot (*Figs. 33 and 71*). In a miniature of a manuscript dated 1485 in the Bodleian Library (Appendix, No. 39*b*), the enclosing leaves are in the same position, but their tips touch under the knot, and their stems meet over it, so that the knot is closed in a palmette-shaped compartment (*Fig. 73*). There is a pure arabesque border in the geometric rug in the upper left corner of the miniature of "Timur Enthroned," attributed to Bihzād, in the *Ẓafar-nāma* (*Fig. 24*) dated 1467 in the R. Garrett collection. (The miniatures are without doubt later than the manuscript.) The construction is that used in borders of later rugs of the so-called Herat-Isfahan type. Identical borders appear in two rugs in a miniature attributed to Bihzād (Appendix, No. 52). There are two other carpets in miniatures assigned to Bihzād in which arabesque forms are substituted for Kufic, one in a manuscript dated 1485, in the A. Chester Beatty collection (*Fig. 47*), and another of about the same date in a miniature in the Gulistan Palace Museum, Teheran (*Fig. 25*). It is questionable whether these arabesque borders harmonize as happily with the geometric field as does the old Kufic.

Vitality of design is heightened in Timurid carpets, by the avoidance of absolute symmetry. Although the geometric plan is never forgotten, it is not adhered to mechanically. Like the later carpets the units of the repeat are not rendered identically. Perhaps this is why a design which lacks distinction in the drawing is yet rather handsome in the miniature (*Fig. 22*). The deviation is not necessarily a matter of chance. No side border is centered consistently with the units of the field. Often, like the columns of a Greek temple, the border units become nearer together as they approach the corners.<sup>47</sup>

Color must have been a powerful factor in the design of the geometric carpets. In spite of a preference for brilliant hues, the inspired and unerring judgment of the Timurid designer is clearly evident in the selection of his colors. Nearly always, as in the Safawid carpets, there is a play of warm color against cool. The complementary scheme is not tiresome because of carefully chosen neutrals, which enrich the brilliance of the dominant hues. Sometimes the ground of the field is of uniform color with compartments or stars of contrasting hues (*Figs. 24, 34, and 35*). Another scheme, the checkerboard with contrasting areas, enjoyed a long popularity. Both a very early Timurid rug (*Fig. 22*) and one of the last of the geometric carpets represented (*Fig. 41*), have a checkered pattern of blue-green and orange-vermilion. The ground of the Kufic borders is most often a cool, deep, and very rich brown-red, with just a suspicion of purple,<sup>48</sup> an excellent foil for the brilliance of the field. It is possible that the colors of carpets represented in miniatures are sometimes affected by the decorative scheme of the whole painting. For example, the colors of the rug in Figures 34 and 35 seem unpleasantly hot. The over-warm tone of the rug is balanced in the miniature by the adjoining areas of

<sup>47</sup> At the Freer Gallery, in making mounts for Persian miniatures, it was found that no painting was precisely a true rectangle. In so meticulous an art, this

could scarcely be the result of carelessness.

<sup>48</sup> Riefstahl described it as chocolate-brown.

strong blue in the tiles of floor and wall. However, the attention given to the color harmony, especially in Figures 25, 42, and 56, and the repetition of favorite schemes indicate at least some general characteristics of the handling of color.

The carpet with hexagonal pattern, from the *Shah Namah* of 1429–30 in the Gulistān Palace Museum (*Fig. 56*) well illustrates the finesse of the Timurid artist. There is a particularly happy blending of floral and geometric forms, and great originality of color.<sup>49</sup> The little trifoliate leaves which appear again in the same manuscript (*Fig. 42*) are especially charming here. No tiny detail is slurred. To maintain the balance of his design the artist has reversed the direction of the curves made by the leaflets on opposite sides of the rug.<sup>50</sup>

The meticulous care and unfailing skill of the Timurid designer is proclaimed in no uncertain terms when this rug is compared with a version of it represented in the miniatures of a *Shah Namah* dated 1023 H. (1614 A.D.) in the New York Public Library,<sup>51</sup> a manuscript which is a copy of the Timurid *Shah Namah* of 1429–30 containing this rug. Though the leaflets have lost their grace and lively movement, the design of the field has suffered less at the hands of the copyist than has the Kufic border, which was entirely too much for him. In the rug of the original miniature, no corner is visible, but in the copy the composition is altered so that all four corners appear. No two are alike, and one is definitely botched. The colors are also inferior. The blue, which has probably faded, is dull and lifeless. The effect is unpleasantly cold, though the artist has introduced into some of his designs an attractive shrimp-pink. The borders in the Spencer manuscript are uniformly purple-red in imitation of the color found in so many of the Kufic borders of Timurid carpets, but not in this one where the blue ground is needed in the border to maintain the harmony. In the copy there is a total lack of harmony between field and border. It is with a keener appreciation of the skill of the Timurid artist that one returns to the beautiful colors and exquisite design of the original carpet.

Geometric rugs continue to be represented along with new types that became popular in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. There are four fine geometric carpets in the Nizāmī manuscript of 1493–94 in the British Museum. One of them, Figure 41, except for an intangible overelegance and dryness lacking in earlier examples, is in no important way different from carpets represented in miniatures early in the century. After this manuscript, with a few isolated exceptions, geometric carpets suddenly disappear from the miniatures. It is the new floral and arabesque styles which are continued in Safawid carpets and, with the exception of the cartouche carpet in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>52</sup> and a mate in the Textile Museum

<sup>49</sup> The ground of the field is orange; the dark hexagons, purple-blue; the alternates, green. The bands outlining the green compartments are tinted yellow. The central stars of the blue hexagons are a cool light green, of the green hexagons, a warm light tan. The leaflets are blue-green. The ground of the border is dark blue; the interstices of the knots, vermilion; the bands, white. The triangles at the edge are alternately blue and green.

<sup>50</sup> The drawing illustrates a part of the left side.

<sup>51</sup> Acquired for the Spencer collection in 1929.

<sup>52</sup> Dimand, *op. cit.*, Fig. 146; Pope, "The Art of Carpet Making," Pl. 1133. (Another possible survival, a sixteenth century medallion carpet with geometric field design of stars and octagons, belonging to French and Company, has come to light during the New York Persian Exhibition of 1940, while this paper was in press [see R. Ettinghausen, "Six Thousand Years of Persian Art," in this issue of *Ars Islamica*, pp. 106–17.] ED.)





FIG. 57—RUG, TYPE IVa, NIZĀMĪ MANUSCRIPT, 1494 (APPENDIX, No. 44d)

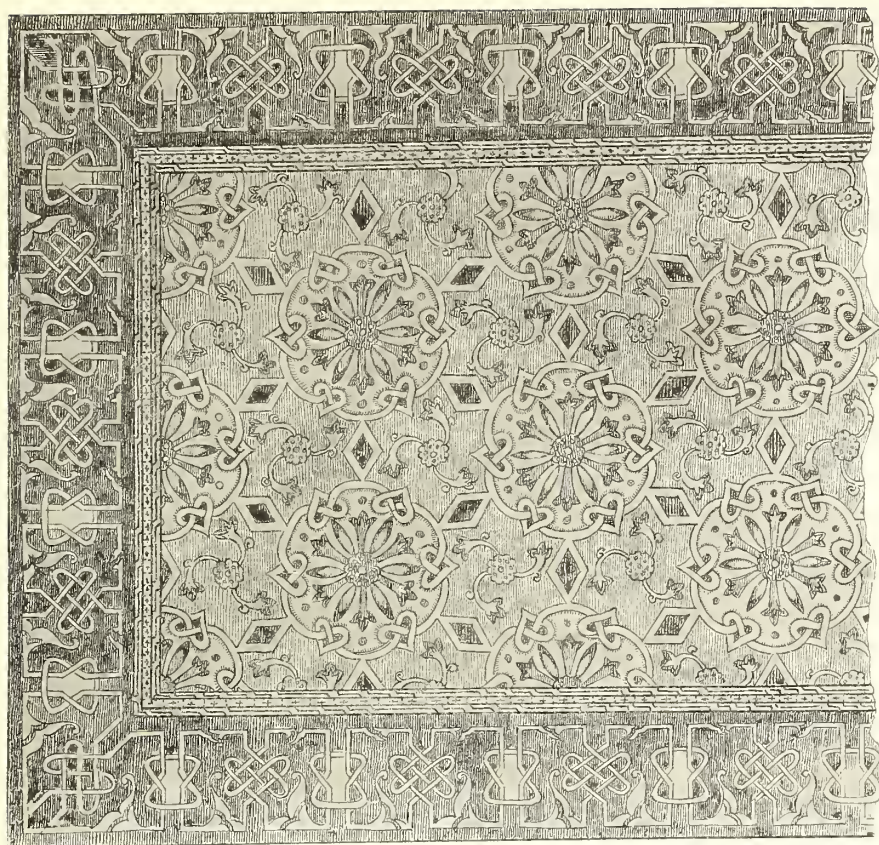


FIG. 58—RUG, TYPE V, KALĪLA WA-DIMNA MANUSCRIPT, 1430  
(APPENDIX, No. 11b)

FROM THE RIEFSTAHL ARCHIVES



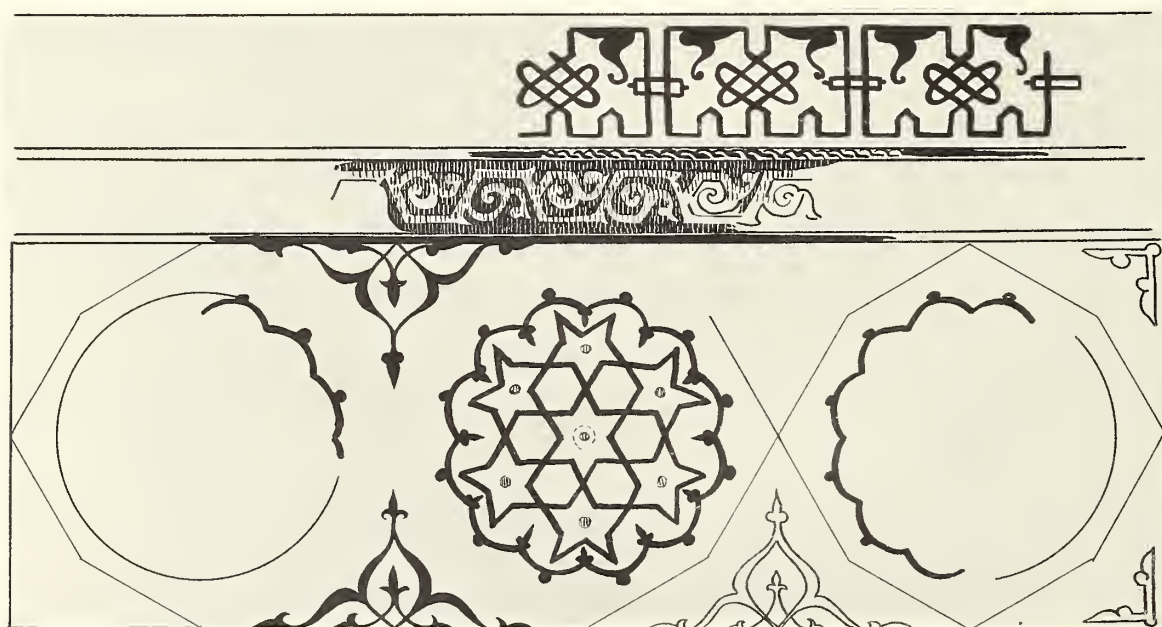


FIG. 59—RUG, VARIATION OF TYPE IIIa, NIZĀMĪ MANUSCRIPT  
1410-20 (APPENDIX, No. 5b)

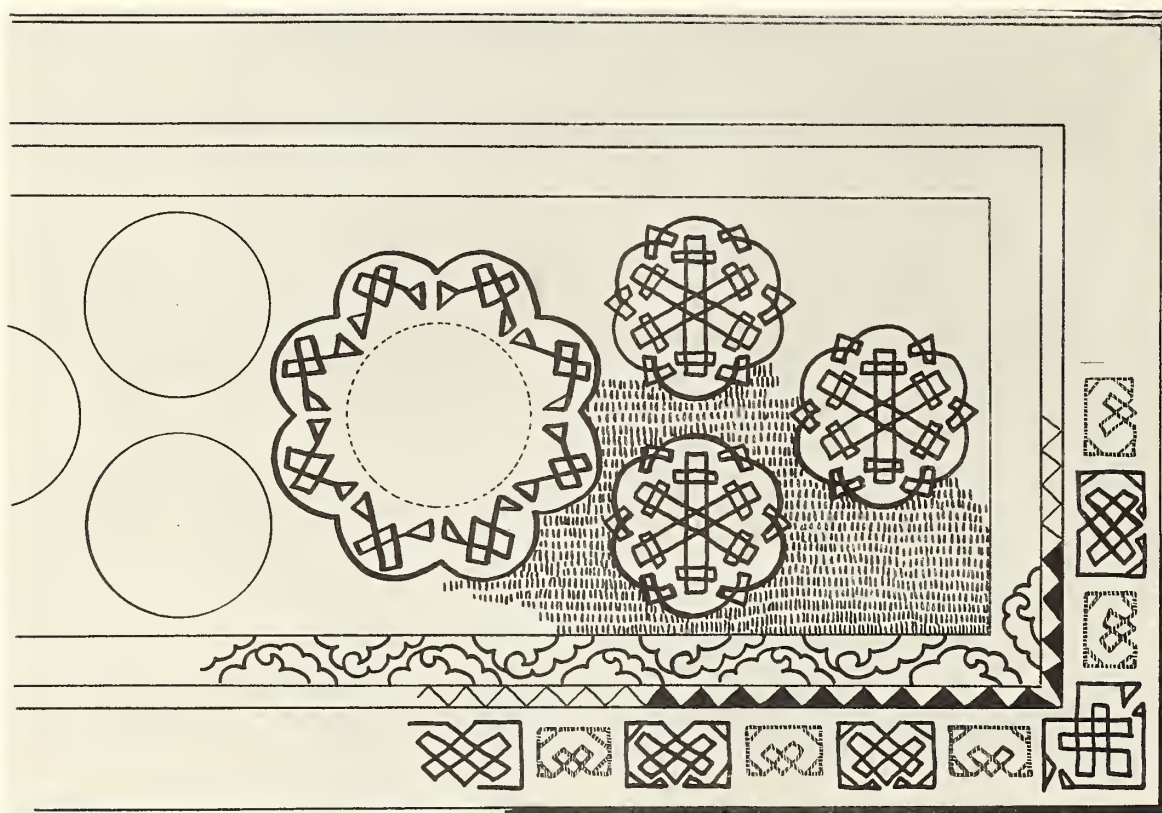


FIG. 60—RUG WITH MEDALLION MOTIFS, KHAMSA OF EMIR KHUSRAU OF  
DELHI, 1496 (APPENDIX, No. 45a)



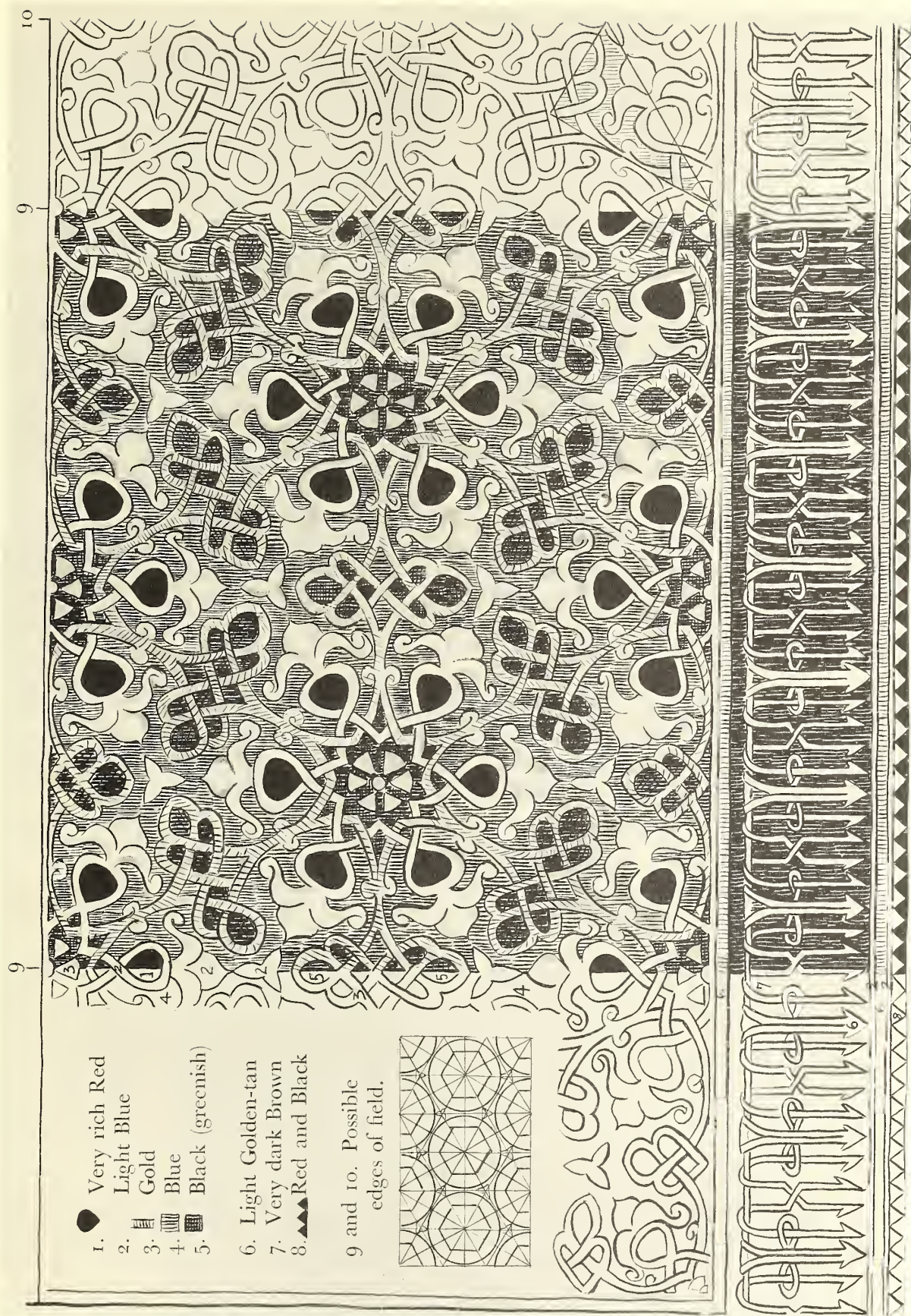
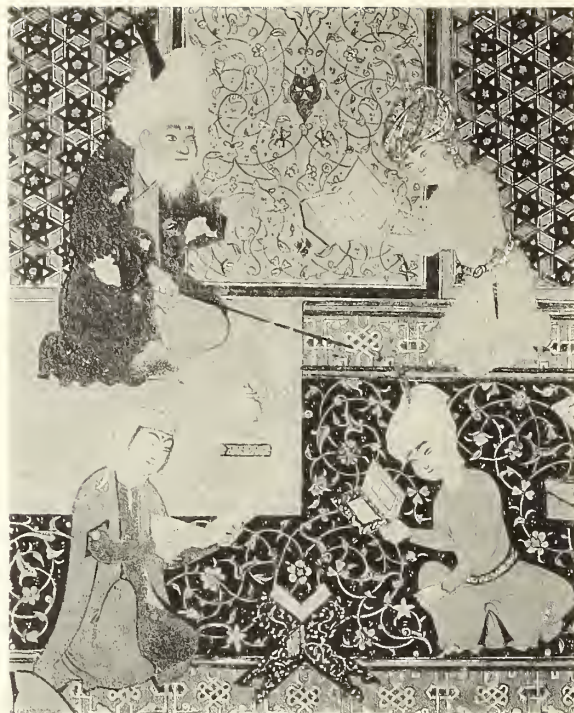


FIG. 61—RUG BASED ON PLAN OF TYPE IVa, 1496 (APPENDIX, No. 44c)





PHOTOGRAPH: MORGAN LIBRARY  
FIG. 62—DETAIL OF A MINIATURE IN A PERSIAN ANTHOLOGY  
1410 (APPENDIX, No. 4b)



AFTER DIMAND  
FIG. 63—DETAIL OF MINIATURE, 1525, METROPOLITAN  
MUSEUM



FIG. 75—CARPET WITH INTERLACED MOTIFS SIMILAR TO TIMURID CARPETS  
PRIVATE COLLECTION



at Lyons, there is scarcely a trace of these geometric designs in the rugs produced in the great Persian work shops of the sixteenth and later centuries.<sup>53</sup> These cartouche rugs use floral and animal motifs, have no interlacing, and suggest the geometric carpets of the Timurid miniatures only in the general underlying plan of the field.

It is in other sections of the Near East and in Spain that descendants of the old geometric designs are found. Rugs of Asia Minor, Spain, the Caucasus, and the Turkoman rugs of the Trans-Caspian region, are very geometric in character. Some of them are strikingly like the Timurid designs, especially the so-called Holbein and Ushak rugs of Asia Minor. A "star" Ushak and a Holbein rug, both in Berlin, are convincing examples.<sup>54</sup> The field of the latter relates it to rugs of Type II and III of the Timurid geometric group (*Fig. 31*). The bands around the octagons interlace in exactly the same way as those of the hexagons of *Figure 56*. But in the Timurid carpets, almost every motif grows from or is interlocked with another, whereas in the Anatolian designs, the forms are more detached, static, frozen. At the points where the knots bind the units together and help to fill the space in the fields of Timurid carpets, in this Holbein rug, the designer has placed small, detached octagons (*Figs. 30 and 31*). The unique Timurid carpet of *Figures 29 and 53*, which is astonishingly close to the Holbein rug, indicates that this tendency was already present in fifteenth-century designs. But here, as in *Figure 56*, where the units are also detached, the frozen, static quality is lacking because of the dynamic rhythm of the cursive leaf and flower forms. The border of the Holbein rug, although unknotted, is derived from Kufic characters and resembles the border of *Figure 61*. Kufic borders, sometimes with knots, occur frequently in the early Asia Minor carpets as in their representations in contemporary European paintings; also in some Caucasian rugs, especially Shirvans.<sup>55</sup> A Sumak carpet included in the Exhibition of Islamic Art in San Francisco in 1937 bears a striking resemblance to *Figure 59*.<sup>56</sup> Both have fine knotted borders, and even the secondary borders are related. The fields also are very similar in effect, though the arabesque leaves of the interspacial motif are more angular and the arrangement of the stars in the roundels is different.

Rugs with the Holbein pattern were woven in Spain, but another type related to Timurid geometric carpets that seems more distinctly Spanish is a narrow runner, the field of which

<sup>53</sup> Some later Persian carpets with allover repeating patterns are related in plan to Timurid types and are probably distant relations of the old geometric tradition: the "Mina Khani" pattern is based on the geometric plan of Type IIa (*Fig. 32*). Also multiple medallion carpets like the classic example in the Victoria and Albert Museum (which Pope thinks could have been woven at the end of the fifteenth century [*ibid.*, III, 2301-2]), seem related to the Timurid radial designs of *Figures 49, 58, and 61*.

<sup>54</sup> Bode and Kühnel, *op. cit.*, *Figs. 73 and 83*.

<sup>55</sup> Martin reproduces a Shirvan where ornamental Kufic appears in both field and border, *op. cit.*, *Fig. 302*.

<sup>56</sup> M. Aga-Oglu, *Exhibition of Islamic Art* (San Francisco, 1937), No. 258. The border resembles one on a Holbein rug represented in a painting by Sinibaldo Ibi, Umbrian School, 1507 (R. van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting* [The Hague, 1924], XIV, *Fig. 289*). The leaflets terminating the bands at the bottom of the border in the painting have been dropped, and the border is the same at the bottom as at the top where there is a continuous band on which the vertical bands seem to hang. The forms are similar to those of the Timurid rug of *Figure 61*. The small loops at the centers of the borders are related; in the later carpets curves have given place to straight lines.

contains a row of three octagons. In shape, it recalls an early Timurid form of carpet (*Fig. 21*). The centers of the octagons are ornamented with a geometric design of intricate interlacings. There is a good example in the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia.<sup>57</sup>

Riefstahl has discussed the relation of the Timurid carpets to Asia Minor types.<sup>58</sup> He pointed out the remarkable resemblance of Figure 33 to a "star" Ushak design and believed that the similarity of the two designs indicated a common origin in a Turkoman style which prevailed in Anatolia as well as in Khurasan.<sup>59</sup> The possibility of a widespread Turkoman style of design is strengthened by the presence of patterns of the same character as those of Timurid rugs on the Seljuk stone reliefs of Asia Minor.<sup>60</sup> Riefstahl believed that the carpets of Caramania which Marco Polo saw and called the most beautiful in the world were not, as has been supposed, of the type discovered in the mosque of 'Alā al-Dīn in Konya. The Konya carpets and others of the same type discovered by Riefstahl at Beishehr,<sup>61</sup> are primitive in type and not so likely, he thought, to cause Marco Polo's high praise as carpets with more sophisticated designs similar to those of the stone carvings and of the rugs in Timurid miniatures. Such rugs would have been of court manufacture, and not "semi-industrial rugs of a standardized, traditional design" like the sixteenth-century Ushaks.<sup>62</sup>

The Turkoman origin of geometric designs in carpets and stone carvings is very plausible, and the persistence and strength of the tradition may explain their presence in Persian carpets when the trend was toward naturalistic and cursive forms in other kinds of decoration. The British Museum Nizāmī manuscript of 1494 contains several of the last geometric carpets represented (*Figs. 28, 41, 57, and 61*). Martin said that Figures 28 and 57 seemed to be early rugs imported from Merv or woven by nomads between Turkestan and Afghanistan.<sup>63</sup> More convincing is a suggestion made by Cohn-Wiener that rugs actually woven in Persia long maintained a geometric character governed by an old Central Asian tradition and that the genius of Bihzād may have been at least partially responsible for the introduction of new designs with floral patterns more in harmony with the prevailing Timurid taste in decoration. The flower style, Persian in origin, conquered the field of architectural ornament a century

<sup>57</sup> R. 84, 11. A similar rug is reproduced by E. Kühnel, "Maurische Teppiche aus Alcaraz." *Pantheon*, VI (1930), 416-20.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 203-14 passim.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207. The author calls special attention to a "star" Ushak in the Victoria and Albert Museum where the "units of the design are connected by 'knot' motives (p. 204). The knots in Ushaks have an oblique position because the units are staggered instead of straight as in Figure 33. Pfister illustrates a sixteenth-century printed cotton from Egypt with a design very like that of Figure 33, but with the stars and knots placed as in the Ushak carpets." *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXVIIIb.

<sup>60</sup> Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, *Figs. 21, 25, 34, and 41*. The design of Figures 25 and 41 is related to the Timurid rug of Figure 61.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, *Figs. 1-12*.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214. C. J. Lamm disagrees with this theory on the ground that the fragments found in Egypt are all closely related to the Konya carpets, and that had finer rugs existed, the Egyptian buyers would not have purchased inferior ones ("The Marby Rug and Some Fragments of Carpets found in Egypt," *Svenska Orientällskapets Arsbok*, 1937, p. 86). As this paper is based on the hypothesis that an entire class of carpets has disappeared, Lamm's objection is not especially convincing to this writer.

<sup>63</sup> *The Nizami MS. Illuminated by Bihzad, Mirek, and Qasim Ali Written in 1495 for Sultan Ali Mirza Barlas, Ruler of Samarquand, in the British Museum (Or. 6810)* (Vienna, 1926), p. 4.



earlier, but had not yet supplanted the strong geometric tradition still fashionable in rugs. He points out that Bihzād's contributions to the *Nizāmī* of 1494 contain carpets of the new types (Appendix, No. 44*h*), while those of the more academic *Mīrak* are still geometric (*Figs. 28, 41, and 61*).<sup>64</sup> It is significant that the geometric carpets which have arabesque instead of Kufic borders, are all in miniatures attributed to Bihzād or his school. Cohn-Wiener admitted that in design and color, the Timurid geometric carpets resemble the type supposed to have been made in Asia Minor (for which he suggested a Seljuk origin), but he does not believe that they were imported. The conclusion would seem to be that these geometric carpets, which are not primitive or nomadic in character, were made in the workshops of Persia according to designs which, though rooted in a Central Asian tradition—Turkoman or Seljuk, are still Persian in manufacture. This is further indicated by the relationship between Timurid rug designs and those used in Persian book illumination of the Mongol and Timurid periods.

Even among weavers who favored the old geometric patterns, the knotted style did not long survive the Timurid period. After the sixteenth century knots are very rare, though forms which suggest derivation from knots exist. Just as the seventeenth-century copyist of a Timurid manuscript was incapable of handling the corner knots of his Kufic borders, rug weavers of later centuries seem to have lacked the patience and skill exacted by the use of complicated interlaced designs. And Persian designers had little need for knot motifs in the cursive floral carpets that supplanted the geometric style.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 457.

<sup>65</sup> In Connecticut, I saw a rug with rectangular compartments outlined with saw-tooth bands which inter-

lace to form knots in quite the Timurid mode. It had been purchased by a missionary in Kashmir (*Fig. 75*).

## APPENDIX

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE APPENDIX

- Amer. Inst. Iranian art. American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology.  
 Bib. Nat. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.  
 E. Blochet, *Enluminures*. *Les Enluminures des manuscrits orientaux-turc, arabes, persans—de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1926).  
 E. Blochet, *Mus. ptg.* *Musulman Painting, XIIth–XVIIth century* (London, 1929).  
 E. Blochet, *Peintures*. *Les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1914–20).  
 E. Blochet, *Peintures Pozzi*. *Les Peintures orientales de la collection Pozzi* (Paris, 1930).  
 E. Cohn-Wiener "On the Origin of Persian Carpet Pattern," *Islamic Culture*, XI, No. 4 (1937), 454–59.  
 Ex. Exhibition  
 Gul. Mus. Museum of the Gulistan Palace, Teheran.  
 London ex. International Exhibition of Persian Art, Burlington House, 1931.  
 G. Marteau and H. Vever *Miniatures persanes* (Paris, 1913). Vol. I.  
 F. R. Martin *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey* (London, 1912). 2 vols.  
 F. R. Martin, *Carpets*. *A History of Oriental Carpets Before 1800* (Vienna, 1908).  
 F. R. Martin, *Behzad*. *Les Miniatures de Behzad dans un manuscrit persan daté 1485* (Munich, 1912).  
*Meisterwerke*. F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München* (Munich, 1912). Vol. I.  
 Met. Mus. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
 Pers. Persian.  
 Ptg. Painting.  
 Repro. Reproduction.  
*Pers. Min. Ptg.* L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933).  
 R. M. Riefstahl "Primitive Rugs of the 'Konya' Type in the Mosque of Beyshehir," *Art Bull.*, XIII, No. 2 (1931), 177–220.  
 A. Sakisian *La Miniature persane du XII<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1929).  
 A. Sakisian, *Artibus Asiae*. "Les Tapis de Perse à la lumière des arts du livre," *Artibus Asiae*, V (1935), 9–22, 222–35.  
 A. Sakisian, *Syria*. "La Miniature à l'exposition d'art persan de Burlington House," *Syria*, XII (1931), 163–72.  
 P. W. Schulz *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei, ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte Irans* (Leipzig, 1914). 2 vols.  
*Survey* *A Survey of Persian Art* (A. U. Pope, ed.; London and New York, 1939). 6 vols.  
 E. Wellesz "Eine Handschrift aus der Blütezeit frühtimuridischer Kunst," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, X (1936), 3–20.



A list of fifteenth-century Persian manuscripts and single miniatures which contain representations of geometric and nongeometric rugs.

An asterisk is used to indicate dated manuscripts.

\*1. *Khawādījū Kirmānī* ms., Baghdad, 798 H. (1396 A.D.), Brit. Mus. (Add. 18113).

a. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic; Figs. 34, 35. "Humāy Sees Humāyūn," Martin, Pl. 47; *idem*, *Carpets*, Fig. 71; Blochet, *Mus. Ptg.*, Pl. LXXII; Riefstahl, Fig. 28; Wellesz, Fig. 5; Brit. Mus. col. postal card, B. 25; col. repro. of rug design, O. Jones, *Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1865), Pl. LXIV, Fig. 13.

b. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic; narrow outer border, angularized vine (not indicated in drawing); Figs. 33, 71. "King Nūshīrwān and His Minister," Martin, Pl. 48; *idem*, *Carpets*, Fig. 73; Riefstahl, Fig. 27; col. repro. rug design, O. Jones, *op. cit.*, Fig. 19.

c. Geometric rug: field, Type II; border, Kufic; narrow outer border, undulating floral vine. "Court Scene," Martin, Pl. 46; *idem*, *Carpets*, Fig. 72; *idem*, *Miniatures from the Period of Timur* (London, 1912), Pl. XIII; reconstruction of rug design, Christie, *Pattern Designing* (Oxford, 1929), Fig. 21; B. Gray, *Persian Painting from Miniatures of the XIII.-XVI. Centuries* (New York-Toronto, 1940), Pl. 4 (color).

d. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic; Figs. 46 and 66. Same miniature, reconstruction rug design, Christie, *op. cit.*, Fig. 307. Gray, *op. cit.* Pl. 4 (color).

2. *Khusrau wa-Shīrīn* ms., Tabriz, 1396-1430, Freer Gall.

Geometric rugs (three, identical except for color scheme of center rug): field, Type II; border, Kufic; Fig. 22. "Shāpūr Brings Farhād Before Shīrīn," M. Aga-Oglu, "The *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* Manuscript in the Freer Gallery," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), 479-81, Fig. 3; photo., Freer Gall. S 3682B (31.34).

\*3. *Anthology*. Fars, 813-14 H. (1410-11 A.D.), Brit. Mus. (Add. 27,261).

a. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic; Fig. 37. "Physician and His Patient," Brit. Mus. col. postal card, B.29.

b. Two geometric rugs: fields, Type IIIa; borders, Kufic; Figs. 38 and 39. "Shīrīn Receiving the Portrait of Khusrau," Martin, Pl. 53; *idem*, *Carpets*, Fig. 74; Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, Fig. 30; Wellesz, Fig. 6.

c. Two geometric rugs: fields, Type IIIa; borders, Kufic. "Nomad Scene," photo., Boston Mus. library, 538.4.4.

d. Arabesque rug: field, mostly obscured, corner shows forked arabesque enclosing half-palmettes; border, Kufic. "Bahrām Gūr and One of the Seven Princesses," Sakisian, Fig. 86; *idem*, "Les Miniaturistes persans, Behzad et Kasim Ali," *Gaz. beaux-arts*, II (1920), 215-33, Fig. 6.

\*4. *Anthology*, copied for Iskandar Sultan, Shiraz, Fars, 813 H. (1410–11 A.D.), Gulbenkian coll. (formerly Yates Thompson).

a. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; same design as No. 3a, Fig. 37; border, Kufic. "Court of Khusrau," Sakisian, Fig. 45; Riefstahl, Fig. 29; *Survey*, V, Pl. 861 A; *Illustrations From One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson* (London, 1912), Pl. XXXVI.

b. Geometric rug: field divided into square compartments containing geometric star designs; border, older unknotted type of Kufic; Figs. 62 and 64.

c. Tent cover with medallions containing arabesques, against ground of naturalistic flowers, birds, and animals. "Khusrau Fighting Lion," Sakisian, Fig. 44; *Survey*, V, Pl. 861 B.

5. *Khamsa* by Nizāmī, Shiraz, early fifteenth century, Cartier coll., London ex. 539A.

a. Geometric rug: field, Type II; border, Kufic. "Iskandar Recognized by Nūshāba," *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. XXXIII A; *Survey*, V, Pl. 855 (col.); photos., Met. Mus. library 128152 and Fogg Mus. 355m, P415, 4Kh(e)3.

b. Geometric medallion rug: field, variation of Type IIIa, three roundels visible; border, Kufic; Fig. 59. "Scene in Blue Pavilion," Marteau and Vever, Pl. LVII, Fig. 63; C. Anet, "Exhibition of Persian Miniatures of the Musée des Arts Decoratifs," *Burlington Mag.*, XXII (1912), 9–17, Pl. III(K); photo., Met. Mus. library 128156.

c. Parts of several geometric rugs with Kufic borders: two with geometric star patterns in the field; same miniature.

6. *Kalīla wa-Dimna* ms., probably Herat, 1410–20, Gul. Mus., London ex. 541B.

Geometric rug: field, Type IIIb; border, Kufic; Fig. 36. "A Thief Captured," *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. XXV B; photo., Fogg Mus. library 355m, P415, 4K10.

\*7. *Anthology*, copied for Bāisonghor, Shiraz, 823 H. (1420 A.D.), Staatliche Mus., Berlin.

Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic; Fig. 16. "Humāy Swoons Before Portrait of Humāyūn," *Survey*, V, Pl. 864 B; E. Kühnel, "Die Baysonghur Handschrift der islamischen Kunstabteilung," *Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsaml.*, 52 (1931), 133–52, Fig. 16.

\*8. *Gulistan* by Sa'di, Herat, 830 H. (1426 A.D.), A. Chester Beatty coll.

a. Geometric rug: field, Type II; border, Kufic; similar to Fig. 23. "Youthful Sa'di and His Teacher," Met. Mus. library photo 127855; M. S. Dimand, *Guide of Ex. Islamic Ptg. and Bk. Illumination* (New York, 1933–34), No. 17.

b. Geometric rug similar to "a." "Prince with Chinese Lady and Attendants." (Information furnished by librarian of Beatty coll.)

\*9. *Khawādjū Kirmānī* ms., Herat, 831 H. (1427 A.D.), Nat. Library, Vienna.

Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic; Fig. 30. "Humāyūn in the Fairy Palace," Wellesz, Figs. 1, 9 (second rug, field not visible).



\*10. *Shah Namah* copied for Bāisonghor, Herat, 833 H. (1429–30 A.D.), Gul. Mus., London ex., 538B.

a. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic. "Presentation of a Robe of Honor," *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. XLIX A; photo., Fogg Mus. library 355m, P415, 4S2 (smaller rug with similar pattern in same miniature).

b. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIb; border, Kufic; Fig. 42. "Luhrāsp Hears of the Disappearance of Kai Khusrau," *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. XLIX B; *Survey*, V, Pl. 870 (col.); Fogg Mus. library photo. 355m, P415, 4S16.

c. Geometric rug: field, Type IVa; border, Kufic, Fig. 56. "Rustam and Isfandiyār," *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. L (col.); Riefstahl, Fig. 32; photo., Met. Mus. library 107836.

d. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic. "Chess Brought to Nūshīrwān from India," photos., Research Seminary in Islamic Art, Univ. Mich., and Fogg. Mus. library 355m, P415, 4S4.

e. Geometric rug with hexagonal medallions in the field: border, Kufic. "Isfandiyār Slays Ardjāsp in the Brazen Castle and Rescues His Sisters," *Survey*, V, Pl. 874 (smaller geometric rug in same miniature, only edge of field visible; border, Kufic).

\*11. *Kalīla wa-Dimna* ms., Herat, 833 H. (1430 A.D.), Topkapu Sarayı Müs., Istanbul (No. 1022).

a. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic; Fig. 40. "A Thief Captured" (copy of 6), M. Aga-Oglu, "Preliminary Notes on Some Persian Illustrated Mss. in the Topkapu Sarayı Müsesi," *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), 183–99, Fig. 14.

b. Geometric rug: field, Type V; border, Kufic; Fig. 58. "Pleasure Party of Bāisonghor," *ibid.*, Fig. 10.

\*12. *Čahār Maḳāla* ms., copied for Bāisonghor, Herat, 835 H. (1431 A.D.), Turkish and Islamic Mus., Istanbul.

a. Arabesque rug: field, pattern based on two systems of undulating stems forming ogives; border, Kufic. "Feast in a Garden," photo., Research Seminary in Islamic Art, Univ. Mich.

b. Nondescript rug: field, casual repeat of five-petaled flowers; border, not clear. "Audience Scene," Sakisian, Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 57.

\*13. *Khamṣa* by Niẓāmī, 837 H. (1433 A.D.), Vever coll.

Rug with casual repeat of three-lobed petal motifs in the field, unique Kufic border. "Feast in a Garden," photo., Fogg Mus. library 355m, P415, 4Kh(f)2.

\*14. *Mī'rāḍj-nāma* ms., in Uighur script, Herat, 840 H. (1436 A.D.), *Survey*, Bib. Nat. (suppl. turc. 190).

Prayer rug: "Muhammad with Disciples in the Mosque at Jerusalem," Blochet, *Enluminures*, Pl. XXXV; rug mentioned by Sakisian, *Artibus Asiae*, footnote, p. 12.

\*15. *Shah Namah*, provincial origin? 842 H. (1438 A.D.), Brit. Mus. (Or. 1403), mentioned in *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, pp. 60-61.

a. Geometric rug: field, Type II, very long, one unit wide, design somewhat similar to Fig. 19, Appendix, No. 6 46a; border, archaic, unknotted, Kufic; Martin, *Carpets*, Fig. 76.

b. Geometric rug: Type II; border, archaic, unknotted, Kufic; Figs. 21 and 68. *Ibid.*, Fig. 78.

c. Three geometric rugs: the same in shape as "a," with field plans based on squares placed diagonally. *Ibid.*, Figs. 77, 79, and 80; Fig. 79, purely geometric; another rug, *ibid.*, Fig. 75, pattern-like, Fig. 77, except scale is smaller, width, two units; all borders like those of "a" and "b."

\*16. *History of the Conqueror of the World*, by Djuwainī, 84- H. (1438 A.D.), Bib. Nat. (suppl. pers. 206).

Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic (nice corner treatment). "Two Suppliants Before Timur," photos., Met. Mus. library 156905, Freer Gall.

\*17. *Khamsa* by Nizāmī, Shiraz or provincial origin, 843 H. (1438 A.D.), Royal University Library, Upsala, London ex. 539E.

Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic. "Khusrau Parwīz Accused Before His Father," *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. LIV A; photo., Fogg Mus. library 355m, P415, 4Kh(b)2.

\*18. *Shah Namah*, 847 H. (1443 A.D.), Gul. Mus., London ex. 539G.

Rug with arabesque scrolls in the field; border, Kufic. "Garden Scene," photos., Amer. Inst. Iranian art and Fogg Mus. library 355m, P415, 4S(b)2.

19. Leaf from a *Shah Namah* ms., "Tahmīna's Visit to Rustam," late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, possession Monif, New York.

Geometric rug: field, Type II; border, Kufic, excellent example of early Timurid carpet.

20. *Shah Namah*, Herat, about 1430, Bib. Nat. (suppl. pers. 1280).

a. Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic, with secondary border, debased undulating stem and leaflets; Fig. 9. "Khusrau Nūshīrwān and Buzurjmihr," Blochet, *Mus. Ptg.*, Pl. LXXIX.

b. Rug with Kufic border identical with that of "a," secondary border, floral vine; edge of field, arabesque scroll with leaves and flowers. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXIII.

c. Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic; Fig. 15. "Feast in a Garden"; *idem*, *Enluminures*, Pl. XXXI A.



*d.* Geometric rug identical with "c," except for addition of secondary border with arabesque scroll.

21. *Gulistān*, by Sa'di, Pozzi coll., Paris.

Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic, fine secondary borders on either side (reciprocal triangles). "Vizier Imploring Mercy," Blochet, *Peintures Pozzi*, Pl. IX.

22. *Shah Namah*, Herat, about 1440, Royal Asiatic Soc., London.

*a.* Three small geometric rugs: fields, Type I; borders, Kufic. "Paladins in the Snow Storm," J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Shāh-Nāmāh, with 24 Illustrations from a Fifteenth Century Persian MS.*, Royal Asiatic Soc., 1931, Pl. XIII; *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. LVIII (both col.).

*b.* Semigeometric rug: field, Type IIIc with arabesque and flower motifs; border, Kufic; Fig. 54. "Tahmīna's Visit to Rustam," Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, Pl. V; *Survey*, V, Pl. 875 (both col.).

23. Ms., about 1440, formerly Martin coll.

Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic. "Reception by a Sultan," Martin, Pl. 54.

24. *Shah Namah*, first half fifteenth century, Met. Mus. (20.120.245).

Rug with plain dark field and unknotted Kufic border like that of Fig. 68. "Pīrān Presenting Kai Khusrau to Afrāsiyāb," photo., Met. Mus. 47060.

25. Leaf from a ms., "Court Scene," Schaurte coll., Wiesbaden.

Geometric rug: typical Timurid style; field, Type II; border, Kufic; photo., R. Ettinghausen.

26. Double miniature of a "Feast of Ghāzān Khān in a Garden," from a Nizāmī ms. to which it did not originally belong, Isfahan, 868 H. (1463 A.D.), West Persia, early fifteenth century, in possession of K. Minassian, New York.

*a.* Two geometric rugs: fields, Type I; borders, Kufic; Schulz, Pls. 36, 37; right side, *Meisterwerke*, Pl. 22.

*b.* Geometric rug with Kufic border of archaic, unknotted type (left side), Fig. 65. Mentioned by Sakisian, *Artibus Asiae*, p. 15.

*c.* Medallion rug with ogival pattern: border, Kufic (right side). Mentioned by Riefstahl, footnote, p. 208.

*d.* Tent cover with medallions and floral decoration.

27. Painting on silk (Chinese style), "Prince and Attendants," Herat, about 1430-50, Boston Mus., formerly Goloubew coll.

Rug with plain dark field and fine Kufic border. Martin, Pl. 51; Kühnel, Pl. 39; *Meisterwerke*, Pl. 17; Marteau and Vever, Pl. LII; Schulz, Pl. 64; and elsewhere.

\*28. *Khamsa* by Nizāmī, 853 H. (1449–50 A.D.), Met. Mus. (13.228.3).

*a.* Rug with geometric cross-band design in the field and nondescript border. "Discussion of Occidental and Oriental art," neg. No. 45120; M. Dimand, "Dated Specimens of Mohammedan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art—Part II," *Met. Mus. Studies*, I (1928–29), 212, Fig. 3.

*b.* Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic, carelessly rendered. "Lailā and Madjñūn at School," neg. No. 70642 B LS.

29. Miniature from a *Shah Namah*, about 1450, Eustache de Lorey collection.

*a.* Semigeometric arabesque rug: field, variation of Type IIIa; border, Kufic; Figs. 48, 49, 52. "Court of King Pīrūz," photo., E. de Lorey.

*b.* Geometric rug: field, Type IVa; border, Kufic; Figs. 48 and 55. Same miniature.

30. Double miniature, "Audience Scene" (right side), Herat, mid-fifteenth century, formerly Goloubew coll.

Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic, with bands becoming arabesque leaves between the interlacements, the same top and bottom. Schulz, Pl. 51.

\*31. *Khamsa* by Emir Khusrau of Delhi, 868 H. (1463 A.D.), formerly Goloubew coll.

Geometric rug: field, Type I; border, Kufic. Schulz, Pl. 41.

32. Miniature painting, "Moses Striking the Giant 'Ūdj's Ankle and Two Other Scenes," Tabriz, fifteenth century, Samad Khan coll., Paris.

Geometric rug: field, Type II; border, Kufic. *Survey*, V, Pl. 852.

33. *Khamsa* by Nizāmī, second half fifteenth century, Met. Mus. (13.228.9).

Two geometric rugs: fields, Type I; borders, Kufic. "Khusrau and Shīrīn Meet in Her Bower," neg. No. 70726 B LS; "Iskandar Disguised Before Nūshāba," neg. No. 70752 B LS.

\*34. *Zafar-nāma*, Herat, 872 H. (1467 A.D.), Robert Garrett coll.

*a.* Geometric rug: field, Type II; arabesque border; Fig. 24. "Timur Enthroned in a Garden," attributed to Bihzād; Martin, Pl. 69; T. Arnold, *Bihzād and his Paintings in the Zafar-nāmah MS.* (London, 1930), Pl. II (col.); Schulz, Pl. 54.

*b.* Medallion rug with floral and arabesque motifs in field and border. Same miniature; mentioned by Cohn-Wiener as example of Persian flower design used for a rug, Cohn-Wiener, p. 457.

*c.* Compartment rug: very little of field visible; border, floral vine. Same miniature.



d. Tent cover with animal heads set in floral design. Same miniature; mentioned by Sakisian, *Artibus Asiae*, footnote, p. 20.

e. Geometric rug (fragment): field, Type II; border, undulating arabesque vine. "Assault on the Fortress of the Knights of St. John of Smyrna," Arnold, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII.

\*35. Nizāmī ms., 87– H. (1468 A.D.), Mus. of Folk Art, Berlin.  
Rug with plain field and Kufic border. Schulz, Pl. 56.

\*36. *Annals of Ṭabarī*, 874 H. (1469 A.D.), A. Chester Beatty coll., London ex. 476a.  
Geometric rug: field, Type II; border, Kufic. "Jamshid Directing Craftsmen," *Survey*, V, Pl. 880; photo., Met. Mus. library 107646.

\*37. *Khamsa* of Emir Khusrau of Delhi, Herat, 890 H. (1485 A.D.), A. Chester Beatty coll.  
a. Geometric rug: field, variation of Type IIIa; arabesque border; Figs. 47 and 51. "Dancing Dervishes," Martin, Pl. 76; *idem*, *Miniatures de Behzad*, Pl. 6.

b. Multiple medallion rug: with ogival compartments; floral border. "Story of the Lady and the Banker," Martin, Pl. 75; *Miniatures de Behzad*, Pl. 21; use of Chinese lotus in the field noted by Sakisian, *Artibus Asiae*, pp. 223 and 226.

c. Medallion rug: with pendants and corners, arabesques and flowers in the field; undulating vine and flowers in the border. "Birth of Madjñnūn," Martin, Pl. 78; *Miniatures de Behzad*, Pl. 16; photo., Met. Mus. library 127923; mentioned as example of use of Persian flower pattern for a carpet, by Cohn-Wiener, p. 457.

d. Smaller medallion rug less clearly represented. Same miniature.

e. Small geometric medallion rug. "Shīrīn Receiving Khusrau in Her Palace," Martin, Pl. 77; *Miniatures de Behzad*, Pl. 12; *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. LXII B; mentioned by Pope as example of type known only by late descendants, *Survey*, III, 2316.

f. Small fragmentary geometric rugs or mats. "Khusrau and Shīrīn in Her Palace in Armenia," Martin, Pl. 76 A.

\*38. *Sadd-i Iskandar* by Mīr 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, in Čaghātāi Turkish, Herat, 890 H. (1485 A.D.), Bodleian Library, London ex. 542A.

a. Multiple medallion rug: with ogival compartments; arabesque border. "Madjñnūn Coming to the House of Lailā," *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. LXV B.

b. Polygonal rug: field, arabesques; border, leaf and flower motifs. "Iskandar Enthroned," by Kāsim Ali, *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. LXV A.

\*39. *Ḥairat al-Abrār* by Mīr 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, companion to No. 38, London ex. 542D.

a. Compartment rug: with interpenetrating areas; Kufic border separated from the field by narrow border with undulating floral vine. "Mystic and Four Disciples," *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. LXIII A; B. Gray, *Persian Painting* (London, 1930), Pl. 6.

*b.* Rug with Kufic border: alternate knots enclosed by arabesque leaves; field not visible; Fig. 73. "Nūshīrwān with a lady," *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. LXIV A.

\*40. *Ẓafar-nāma*, Herat, 891 H. (1486 A.D.), Turkish and Islamic Mus., Istanbul.

*a.* Canopy rug: divided into squares (probably nine, bottom not actually visible); ornamented with medallions and arabesques. "Timur Watching a Dance," Sakisian, Fig. 109, *idem*, "L'École de miniature de Hérat au XV siècle," *Renaissance illustrée* (Apr. 1921), p. 296; mentioned by Pope, *Survey*, III, 2288.

*b.* Tent decorated with medallions. Mentioned by Sakisian, *Artibus Asiae*, p. 226.

41. Double miniature, "Sultan Husain Mirza in a Garden," by Bihzād, Herat, about 1485, Gul. Mus. London ex. 483.

*a.* Geometric rug: field, Type II; border, arabesque; Fig. 25; left side of miniature. *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. LXVII (col.); Sakisian, *Syria*, Pl. XXXVI; T. Rice, "Splendors of the Persian Book," *Asia*, XXXIII (1933), 566-67; photos., Amer. Inst. Iranian Art and Met. Mus. library. Design of this rug not indicated in unfinished version of this miniature in Philip Hofer coll.

*b.* Rug with floral scrolls; border, elaborate Kufic knots alternating with arabesques; right side of miniature. Described by M. S. Dimand, *Oriental Rugs and Textiles* (New York, 1935), p. 8.

\*42. *Bustān* by Sa'di, Herat, 893 H. (1488 A.D.), illustrated by Bihzād, Egyptian Library, Cairo, London ex. 543B.

*a.* Compartment rug with interpenetrating areas: arabesque decoration; border, elaborate Kufic. "Sultan Husain Mirza Enthroned in a Garden," Martin, Pl. 71 A; *idem*, *Carpets*, Fig. 95; *Pers. Min. Ptg.*, Pl. LXVIII A; J. V. S. Wilkinson, "Fresh Light on the Herat Painters," *Burlington Mag.*, LVIII (1931), 60-67, Pl. II; Sakisian, *Syria*, Pl. XXXIV B; photos., Met. Mus. library 107692; Fogg Mus. 355m, P415, 4b3; Amer. Inst. Iranian Art 66807.

*b.* Canopy rug: compartment design with interpenetrating areas; arabesque, floral, and animal motifs, same miniature. Mentioned by Dimand, *loc. cit.* (No. 40b); Schulz, I, 112; Sakisian, *Artibus Asiae*, Pl. 16; tent cover decorated with medallions, flowers, and animal heads mentioned by Sakisian, *ibid.*, p. 17.

*c.* Compartment rug with interpenetrating areas; arabesques and flowers; border, Kufic, like that of "*a.*" "Joseph Fleeing from Zulaikhā," Martin, Pl. 71; Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, Pl. LV B; photos., Met. Mus. library 107696, Fogg. Mus. library 355m, P415, 4B1, Amer. Inst. Iranian art 66813.

\*43. *Khamsa* by Nizāmī, 896 H. (1490-91 A.D.) according to M. Aga-Oglu, *Exhibition of Islamic Art* (San Francisco, 1937), Nos. 53-37, in possession of Monif, New York.



a. Geometric rugs: fields, Type I; borders Kufic; charming color. "Scenes in Black and Tourquoise Palaces"; two examples, same type in "Garden Scenes," of another manuscript in the possession of Monif, about the same date.

b. Multiple medallion rug: with arabesque decoration; border, Kufic. "Scene in Black Palace"; identical rug in "White Palace" (photo., Research Seminary in Islamic Art. Univ. Michigan) and a very similar one, but with the addition of naturalistic leaves and flowers, "Mourning Scene," Bukhara, early sixteenth century (Fogg Mus. No. 1936.29).

c. Rug with arabesque and floral scrolls based on two systems of stems forming ogives; one unit in width; border, very simple Kufic. "Scene in Turquoise Palace."

\*44. Nizāmī ms. copied in Herat for Ali Farsi Barlas, Emir of Sultan Husain Mirza, 900 H. (1494-95 A.D.), Brit. Mus. (Or. 6810).

a. Geometric rug: probably a survival of an old form; field, Type IIIa; Fig. 28; border, Kufic, unknotted type; Fig. 69. "Farhād Being Brought to the Palace of Shīrīn," Martin, Pl. 95 A; F. R. Martin and T. Arnold, *The Nizāmī MS. Illuminated by Bihzad, Mirak, and Qasim Ali* (Vienna, 1926), Pl. 10; mentioned by Sakisian, *Artibus Asiae*, p. 12.

b. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic, Fig. 41. Double miniature of a "Presentation of a Ms. to Sultan Ali Mirza Barlas," dated 901 H. (1496 A.D.), right side, Martin, Pl. 94; Martin and Arnold, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2; *Survey*, V, Pl. 882.\*

c. Semigeometric arabesque rug: field, Type IVa; border, Kufic; Fig. 61. Left side, same miniature.

d. Geometric rug: field, Type IVb; border, Kufic; Fig. 57. "Shīrīn Receiving the Portrait of Khusrau," Martin, Pl. 95; Martin and Arnold, *op. cit.*, Pl. 9.

e. Rug with elaborate Kufic border; field not visible; "Assasination of Khusrau beside Shīrīn," *ibid.*, Pl. 12.

f. Small geometric rug: field, simple pattern of roundels containing six petals, basic plan of Type V; border, swastikas terminating in points like Kufic characters; *ibid.*, Pl. 15; L. Binyon, *Asiatic Art in the Brit. Mus.* (London, 1925), Pl. XLVIII; Blochet, *Mus. Ptg.* Pl. CII; Brit. Mus. col. postal card, B. 30.

g. Small rug: with arabesque scrolls in the border; field, not visible. "Interior of a Bath," Martin, Pl. 73; Martin and Arnold, *op. cit.*, Pl. 7.

h. Compartment rug: with interpenetrating areas; border, arabesque. "Iskandar with the Seven Sages," Martin, Pl. 72A; Martin and Arnold, *op. cit.*, Pl. 22; Brit. Mus. col. postal card, C. 94.

\*45. *Khamsa* of Emir Khusrau of Delhi, 900 H. (1496 A.D.), State Library, Berlin (830).

a. Geometric medallion rug: border, Kufic; separated from a secondary border of styl-

\* Kühnel said that this miniature, a frontispiece by Mirak, is earlier than the manuscript, ca. 1480 ("Book

Painting," *Survey of Persian Art*, III, 1862).

ized leaflets suggesting an undulating vine, by a band of reciprocal triangles; Fig. 60. "Palace Scene," Schulz, Pl. 56.

*b.* Rug with arabesque and floral scrolls in the field: border, Kufic, "Murder of Khusrau," Schulz, Pl. 58; T. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *Islamic Book* (Paris, 1929), Pl. 49.

\*46. *Shah Nāmāh*, 902 H. (1496 A.D.), State Library, Munich (Cod. Pers. 8).

*a.* Floral rug: border, with wide compartment; *tabula ansata* type, separated by dark guard band from narrow border with undulating floral vine. Right side of double miniature, "Garden Scene," Schulz, Pl. 64.

*b.* Tent cover with cursive arabesque and floral decoration. Same miniature.

47. *Shah Namāh*, copied for Sultan Ali Mirza, West Persia, probably late fifteenth century, (*Catalogue*, Persian Exhibition, New York, 1940: calls this manuscript *Shah Namāh*, end of the fourteenth century. [Cf. also, E. Schroeder, "Ahmed Musa and Shams al-Dīn: a Review of Fourteenth Century Painting," *Ars Islamica*, VI (1939), 138: May be attributed to the period between 1393 and 1404-5, at Timur's court.] Sakisian says that about twenty miniatures were taken from the manuscript between its removal from the dervish monastery and its acquisition by the Turkish and Islamic Mus. (then Evkaf), *Min. Pers.*, p. 35. Turkish and Islamic Mus., Istanbul, formerly Dervish monastery.

*a.* Geometric rug: field, Type II; border, Kufic, much wider in proportion to field than usual; Fig. 19. "Kai Khusrau Enthroned." Worcester Art Mus., Worcester, Mass. Martin, Pl. 65 A; exhibited in Demotte exhibition, 1934; reproduced, cover of *Art News*, Mar. 24, 1934; Perry B. Cott, "Recent Acquisitions of Near Eastern Miniature Paintings," *Worcester Art Mus. Annual*, I (1935-36), 33, 42, Fig. 6.

*b.* Geometric rug similar to "*a.*" "Court Scene," Martin, *Carpets*, Fig. 82; Riefstahl, Fig. 33.

*c.* Elaborate semigeometric rug: field, Type IIIb, with Chinese naturalistic flowers; border, Kufic; Figs. 29 and 53. "Court Scene," Martin, *Carpets*, Fig. 81; Sakisian, Fig. 42; Riefstahl, Fig. 31.

*d.* Rug with arabesque and floral scrolls in the field: border, Kufic, like borders of "*a.*" and "*b.*" Martin, *Carpets*, Fig. 83; W. Grote-Hasenbalg, *Der Orientteppich* (Berlin, 1922), I, Fig. 60.

*e.* Small arabesque rug: field, similar to that of "*d.*"; border, simple arabesque vine. Same miniature as "*c.*"

\*48. *Djāmī* Ms. 903 H. (1499 A.D.), Bib. Nat. (suppl. pers. 1416).

Floral medallion rug: field, center not visible, ends showing pendants and bisymmetric scrolls; border, floral vine. "Prince and Favorite in a Garden," Blochet, *Mus. ptg.*, Pl. CVIII; Sakisian, Fig. 128; G. Migeon, *Manuel of Mus. Art* (Paris, 1907), II, Fig. 27.



\*49. *Divan* of Mir 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, 853 H. (1449–50 A.D.), Met. Mus.

Rug with arabesque scrolls in field and border. "Woman Petitioning Ruler," neg. No. 18535, photo., Met. Mus. library 94973.

50. Miniature, Turkish origin suggested by Marteau and Vever, Vever coll.

Floral rug with arabesques: border, flower and leaflets in compartments connected by knots. "Prince and Sultana Feasting in a Garden," Marteau and Vever, Pl. LXII, No. 78.

51. Miniature from a lost ms, "Audience Scene Out-of-Doors," attributed to Bihzād, Herat, end of fifteenth century, Gulbenkian coll.

Compartment rug: with arabesque and floral scrolls; border, floral vine; canopy rug and tent cover also with floral and arabesque scrolls. *Survey*, V, Pl. 888 B.

52. Miniature, "Prince in Pavilion," attributed to Bihzād, private coll., Paris.

a. Arabesque rug: border, identical with that of Fig. 24. G. Munthe, *Islams Konst* (Stockholm, 1929), p. 302.

b. Three other rugs partially visible.

7.22 53. Painting, "Dromedary and His Keeper," attributed to Bihzād, second half fifteenth century, Freer Gallery (formerly Sakisian coll.), London ex. 567.

Camel cover with naturalistic flowers, Sakisian, Fig. 84, photos., Amer. Inst. Iranian art 67181, Fogg Mus. library 355m, P415, 9(a). A sixteenth-century treatment of the same subject has a cover with an exceptionally fine design of faces and animal heads in naturalistic flowers set in an arabesque scheme (dated 1557 by Sakisian), Freer Gallery (formerly Sakisian coll.); Sakisian, Fig. 85, photo., Met Mus. library 107650. 37.21

54. Nizāmī ms., dated 846 H. (1442 A.D.), Brit. Mus. (Add. 25,900), miniatures, attributed to Bihzād, added in the late fifteenth century.

a. Composite medallion rug: border, floral vine. "Bahrām Gūr and One of His Wives," (fol. 173), Martin, I, Fig. 26.

b. Rug with arabesque border: type of Appendix, Nos. 34a and 52a, field not visible, same miniature, Fig. 74.

c. Horse blankets and other equipage with beautiful floral, arabesque, and medallion designs. "Battle Scene" and "Khusrau Finding Shīrīn at Her Bath," photos., Frick Library.

d. Geometric rug: field, Type IIIa; border, Kufic; Fig. 72. "Feast in a Garden" (fol. 3v), photo., R. Ettinghausen.

e. Compartment rug with floral and arabesque motifs: border, intertwining arabesque vines. Same miniature.

*f.* Canopy with compartment design having central lobed roundel. Same miniature.

*g.* Rug with row of composite medallions (similar to those of Ushak carpets): border, floral vine. Same miniature.

55. Miniature, Herat, fifteenth century, von Eperjezy coll.

Rug with border similar to that of Appendix, No. 54*b* with leaves and flowers substituted for arabesques. Schulz, I, Pl. N2.

56. Miniature "King Arriving at Camp," late fifteenth century, Gul. Mus., London ex. 496.

Canopy rug: with medallion design; also tent cover and umbrella. Photos., Met. Mus. library 107655, Fogg Mus. library 355m, P415, 90(c).

57. Painting, "Portrait of a Dervish," Herat, end of fifteenth century, Mrs. C. T. Burnett coll.

Prayer rug: field, niche with suspended lamp; border, arabesque compartments with plant motifs too indistinct to define. Marteau and Vever, I, Pl. X; Sakisian, Fig. 94; Martin, Pl. 91.



IM ERSTEN TEIL DIESES AUFSATZES HABE ICH DIE MIR BEKANNTEN QUELLEN VORGEFÜHRT, IN denen von Teppichen aus Kairo die Rede ist. Diese Zusammenstellung ergab, dass es sich bei diesen "Kairener Teppichen" um eine zahlenmässig grosse Gruppe handeln muss, die zwischen der Mitte des 15. und dem Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts gefertigt ist und deren Arbeiten von so hohem künstlerischem Wert waren, dass sie mit persischen Teppichen konkurrieren konnten. Diese Bedingungen erfüllt unter den allein in Frage kommenden Teppichen des türkischen Bereichs nur eine Gruppe, nämlich die der sogenannten "Damaskusteppiche" im weiteren Sinne dieser irreführenden Bezeichnung, d.h. die Gruppe, die von den "geometrisch" gemusterten eigentlichen "Damaskusteppichen" und den blumig gemusterten Teppichen der sogenannten "türkischen Hofmanufaktur" gebildet wird. Das wesentliche Ergebnis dieser Quellenuntersuchung war also die Feststellung, dass die Teppiche, die man bisher als Erzeugnisse einer an einem noch nicht bekannten Ort Kleinasien arbeitenden osmanischen Hofmanufaktur bezeichnete, in der Hauptsache, wenn auch nicht ausschliesslich, in Kairo entstanden sind.

Dieses Ergebnis am erhaltenen Material nachzuprüfen, ist die Aufgabe dieses zweiten Teils, der also in erster Linie die folgenden Fragen zu beantworten hat:

1. Welche Anhaltspunkte bietet das vorhandene Material für die Annahme, dass die "geometrisch" gemusterten Teppiche in Kairo, bzw. in Ägypten gemacht worden sind?
2. Welche Anhaltspunkte bietet das vorhandene Material für die Annahme, dass die blumig gemusterte Gruppe sich am gleichen Ort, in engem Werkstattzusammenhang und in langsamem Übergang aus der "geometrisch" gemusterten Gruppe entwickelt hat?

Die erste Frage ist bereits vor dreissig Jahren von Valentiner berührt<sup>1</sup> und vor etwa 15 Jahren von Sarre mit dem Hinweis auf die Verwandtschaft der Muster dieser Teppiche mit ägyptisch-mamlükischen Holzarbeiten, Bucheinbänden, Mosaikfussböden, Metallarbeiten und Deckenmalereien beantwortet worden.<sup>2</sup> Nach anfänglichem Zögern hat die Wissenschaft sich seinen Ergebnissen angeschlossen, ohne dabei das von ihm herangezogene Vergleichsmaterial nennenswert zu erweitern. Gegen die Beweiskraft dieses Materials hat nun kürzlich S. Troll ernste Bedenken geäussert, indem er geltend macht, dass auf der einen Seite die Ähnlichkeit der genannten Arbeiten des ägyptisch-mamlükischen Kreises mit den Mustern dieser Teppiche nur oberflächlich sei, auf der anderen Seite gleichwertiges Material sich auch aus anderen Kunstkreisen beibringen liesse. So lange sich nicht zwingendere Übereinstimmungen finden

\* Der erste Teil dieses Artikels wurde mit dem Untertitel "Europäische und Islamische Quellen des 15.-18. Jahrhunderts," in Bd. V, Hft. 2 dieser Zeitschrift (S. 179-206) im Jahre 1938 veröffentlicht.

<sup>1</sup> W. R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Rugs, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

(New York, 1910), S. XXVI und XXVII, dazu Abb. 20.

<sup>2</sup> F. Sarre, "Die ägyptische Herkunft der sogenannten Damaskus-Teppiche," *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, XXXII (1921), S. 75-82; und *idem*, "Die ägyptischen Teppiche," *Jahrb. d. asiat. Kunst*, I (1924), S. 19-23.

liessen, glaubt er, der Sarre'schen These von der ägyptischen Entstehung der "geometrisch gemusterten Damaskusteppiche" nicht zustimmen zu können.<sup>3</sup>

In der Tat wird man Troll zugeben müssen, dass die von Sarre herangezogenen Beispiele zum Teil allgemein sind und nicht eindeutig für Ägypten sprechen. Man darf aber nicht vergessen, dass Sarre selber diese Vergleiche nur als ergänzende Beweise seiner Theorie anführt, die er im Wesentlichen auf Urkunden wie den Befehl Murāds III. von 1585 und den Bericht Thévenots von 1663 gründet. Dass Trolls geringe Einschätzung dieser Quellen nicht gerechtfertigt ist, dürfte die erweiterte Zusammenstellung, die den ersten Teil dieses Aufsatzes bildet, gezeigt haben. Trotzdem wäre auch heute noch eine überzeugende stilistische Verbindung dieser in jeder Hinsicht so eigenartigen Teppiche mit der mamlūkischen Kunst Ägyptens eine willkommene Stütze der Folgerungen, zu denen die Quellen mit zwingender Notwendigkeit führen.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist ein Hinweis E. Kühnells auf die Verwandtschaft der "geometrisch gemusterten Damaskusteppiche" mit koptischen Purpurstoffen von richtungsgebender Bedeutung.<sup>4</sup> Die Ähnlichkeit ist in der Tat überraschend. Diese koptischen Stoffe, von denen in erster Linie die quadratisch gemusterten heranzuziehen sind<sup>5</sup> (Abb. 1 und 2) zeigen die gleiche Art, die Mitte durch eine geometrische Figur zu betonen, der alle anderen Formen untergeordnet sind. Auch bei ihnen sind auf der Achtzahl aufgebaute Formen, Oktogon oder achtstrahliger Stern, bevorzugt. Sogar das Variieren einer Form durch geringe Verschiebung ihrer Bestandteile, das den "Damaskusteppichen" die Bezeichnung "kaleidoskopisch" eingetragen hat, findet sich, weniger reich, aber im Prinzip entsprechend, schon bei diesen koptischen Stoffen.<sup>6</sup> Ein Blick auf die Abbildungen zeigt besser als alle Worte, wie eng die Übereinstimmung ist. Wie bei dem in Abbildung 1 wiedergegebenen Stoff des koptischen Museums in Kairo der mittlere Stern von kleinen Achtecken umgeben wird, wie diese ganze Gruppe durch einen Aussenkontur zu einem grossen Achteck zusammengefasst wird, wie die kleinen Achtecke am Rande, fast möchte man sagen im Hauptstreifen der Borte, wieder aufgenommen werden, wie jedes dieser kleinen Achtecke dabei mit einer rechteckigen Figur gefüllt ist, von der strahlenförmig acht Zacken ausgehen, das alles entspricht der Komposition eines "Damaskusteppichs" so weitgehend, dass ein flüchtiger Beschauer den koptischen Stoff für eine neue Variante des Damaskusteppichmusters halten könnte. Diesen kompositionellen Zusammenhängen gegenüber scheint es dabei weniger wichtig, dass selbst Einzelformen wie z.B. eine Reihe der Kandelaber- und Blattmotive der Teppiche schon auf den Stoffen vorkommen.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> S. Troll, "Damaskusteppiche," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), S. 201-31.

<sup>4</sup> E. Kühnel, "La Tradition copte dans les tissus musulmans," *Bull. de la soc. d'archéologie copte*, IV (1938), S. 79-89.

<sup>5</sup> Eine besonders reiche Auswahl dieser Stoffe besitzt das Koptische Museum in Kairo. Vergl. die Stoffe Nrr. 1675, 3563, 1785, 1924, 2553, 2028, und 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Man vergleiche z.B. die Oktogonbildungen der Stoffe:

O. Wulff-W. F. Vollbach, *Spätantike und koptische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Grabfunden* (Berlin, 1926), Taf. 42, Nr. 4669; A. Apostolaki, *Koptische Stoffe im Museum der Dekorativen Künste in Athen* (Athens, 1932), Abb. 38. und Abb. 84; und A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-grounds in Egypt* (London, 1920), I, Taf. XXVII, Nr. 187.

<sup>7</sup> z.B. die kandelaberartigen Motive auf den Stoffen: Wulff-Vollbach, *op. cit.*, Taf. 32, Nr. 11456; Apostolaki,



Diese innere Verwandtschaft wird noch überzeugender, wenn man sich vergegenwärtigt, wie die Teppichproduktion Vorderasiens in der Zeit aussah, in der die ersten "Damaskusteppiche" entstanden. Wir sind darüber trotz der geringen Zahl erhaltener Stücke recht gut unterrichtet. Die Typen sind mannigfaltig, aber in einem entscheidenden Merkmal stimmen sie alle überein. Es ist gleichgültig, ob wir die berühmten Teppiche aus der Moschee 'Alā al-Dīn in Konya im Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul<sup>8</sup> oder die weniger bekannten in der Moschee in Beishehr<sup>9</sup> betrachten, ob wir die mit Tieren oder Tiergruppen geschmückten Teppiche heranziehen, die wir von zahlreichen Darstellungen auf den Bildern abendländischer Künstler kennen<sup>10</sup> oder die nicht weniger zahlreichen Darstellungen von geometrisch gemusterten Teppichen,<sup>11</sup> ob wir uns die in den Palästen des Orients benutzten Typen aus den persischen Miniaturen zusammenstellen<sup>12</sup> oder die immer reichlicher in Fustāt zu Tage kommenden Fragmente<sup>13</sup> vornehmen, ob wir die ältesten erhaltenen Exemplare der "Holbeinteppiche" studieren oder die frühen Knüpfteppiche Spaniens, bei allen ist das Prinzip der Musteranordnung dasselbe, bei allen wird eine Figur oder eine Gruppe von Figuren gleichwertig und gleichförmig in ständiger Wiederholung über die ganze Fläche des Innenfeldes gereiht. Jede Betonung der Mitte, ja jeder Akzent überhaupt fehlt. Jede Einzelform gleicht der anderen, hat dieselbe Masse, dieselbe Form, denselben Wert. Es gehört dabei zum Wesen dieser koordinierenden Reihung, dass das Muster in unendlichem Rapport gegeben ist, also in allen Richtungen beliebig durch Hinzufügung weiterer gleicher Einzelformen fortgeführt werden könnte. Bei der Rautenmusterung ergibt sich das von selber, bei der Quadrierung wird es nicht selten

*op. cit.*, Abb. 100; A. Riegl, *Die ägyptischen Textilfunde im K. K. Oesterr. Museum* (Wien, 1889), Taf. IV, Nr. 372 K. 403 und Taf. X, Nr. 589; einen Stoff im Museo Cristiano Vaticano (A. Muñoz, "L'Arte bizantina all' esposizione di Grottaferrata," *L'Arte*, VIII [1905] S. 162).

<sup>8</sup> Von diesen für die Geschichte des Orientteppichs so überaus wichtigen Teppichen sind leider immer noch nur die drei Stücke veröffentlicht, die Martin und Sarre vor 30 Jahren unabhängig voneinander entdeckten. Ein kleines Fragment war ferner im Katalog der 1932 in Wien veranstalteten Ausstellung türkischer Kunst abgebildet (Nr. 155), und neuerdings im offiziellen Museums Katalog (*Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi* [Istanbul, 1939], Taf. 3). Es trägt im Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul die Nummer 684. Dort befinden sich noch folgende Stücke: 692-93 und 683: zwei Fragmente eines grossen dunkelblauen Teppichs mit Rautenmuster; 688: grösseres Fragment mit einem mattroten Muster auf weinrotem Grund in der Art des Teppichs "Beishehr IX"; 678: kleines Fragment mit hellblauer Rautenmusterung auf dunkelblauem Grund. Als Koniateppiche werden dort auch die Stücke Nr. 720, 679 und 744 bezeichnet, bei denen mir eine so frühe Entstehung unwahr-

scheinlich vorkommt, sowie die Stücke 680 und 679, bei denen ich sie für ausgeschlossen halte.

<sup>9</sup> R. M. Riefstahl, "Primitive Rugs of the 'Konya' Type in the Mosque of Beyshehir," *Art Bull.*, XIII (1931), 177-220.

<sup>10</sup> K. Erdmann, "Orientalische Tierteppiche auf Bildern des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunsts.*, L (1929), S. 261-98.

<sup>11</sup> Zu meinem Bedauern habe ich immer noch keine Zeit gefunden, ähnlich wie die Tierteppiche auch die geometrisch gemusterten Teppiche auf Bildern zusammenzustellen.

<sup>12</sup> Die Darstellungen von Teppichen auf persischen Miniaturen wurden zuerst von F. R. Martin, *A History of Oriental Carpets before 1800* (Wien, 1908), herangezogen. Neuerdings hat sie auch A. U. Pope, in *A Survey of Persian Art* verwertet. Eine systematische Auswertung dieser aufschlussreichen Quelle wird in der gleichen Nummer von *Ars Islamica* von Miss Amy Briggs gegeben (Siche S. 20-54).

<sup>13</sup> C. J. Lamm, "The Marby Rug and Some Fragments of Carpets Found in Egypt," *Orientsällskapets Årsbok*, 1937, S. 51-130.

dadurch unterstrichen, dass das Muster nicht mit einer vollen Quadratreihe abschliesst, sondern die Borte eine Reihe so überschneidet, dass von ihren Quadraten nur Teile im Felde erscheinen, das Auge des Beschauers also zu einem Ergänzen des Musters über die Feldgrenze hinweg, d.h. aber zu einem Fortführen des Musters ins Unendliche gezwungen wird. Man kann daher behaupten, dass die koordinierende Reihung und der unendliche Rapport die wesentlichen Kompositionsprinzipien des Orientteppichs im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert sind.

Die "geometrisch gemusterten Damaskusteppiche" sind die einzige Gruppe, die davon abweicht, und zwar nicht etwa in der Verunklärung dieses Prinzips, sondern in der klaren und konsequenten Entwicklung des entgegengesetzten Prinzips. Ihre Muster sind stets auf der Unterordnung aller einzelnen Formen unter ein beherrschendes mittleres Motiv aufgebaut. Die Einzelformen sind dabei in den Massen verschieden. Ihre Gliederung wechselt vielfach, wobei Variationen über dieselbe Grundform beliebt sind, in denen die Rangordnung der einzelnen Formen deutlich zum Ausdruck kommen. Dieser zentralisierenden und subordinierenden Anordnung folgend sind ihre Muster stets endlich. Damit stehen diese Teppiche unter den zahlreichen Gruppen ihrer Zeit völlig isoliert. Mit keiner von ihnen lassen sie sich ihren inneren Aufbau nach vergleichen.<sup>14</sup> Wenn man sich das vergegenwärtigt, so wird die überraschende Ähnlichkeit ihrer Muster mit koptischen Stoffen noch zwingender.

Wie ist denn die Lage? Dass die "Damaskusteppiche" in östlichen Mittelmeergebiet entstanden sind, ist allgemein anerkannt. Kleinasien oder Ägypten stehen in engerer Wahl. Beide empfangen den Knüpfteppich aus dem Osten. Beide empfangen ihn offenbar mit Mustern nach dem Prinzip der koordinierenden Reihung. Sicher kleinasiatische Gruppen wie die Teppiche von Konya und Beishehr, die Tierteppiche der abendländischen Bilder oder die "Holbeinteppeiche" haben das Prinzip beibehalten. Wenn es bei den "Damaskusteppichen" durch das entgegengesetzte Prinzip der subordinierenden Gruppierung ersetzt wird, so muss es aus einem anderen Gebiet der bildenden Kunst abgeleitet sein. In Kleinasien bestand, wie die eben genannten Gruppen beweisen, eine solche Tendenz zur Zentralisierung offenbar nicht. In Ägypten dagegen ist dies neue Prinzip seit langem bekannt und zwar in der Textilkunst selber, bei Stoffen. Was liegt unter diesen Umständen näher, als die Annahme, dass der Bruch mit der üblichen Kompositionsform eines Teppichmusters, ja ihre prinzipielle Umkehrung hier und unter dem Einfluss dieser alten, bodenständigen Tradition erfolgt ist? Wenn man dann noch feststellen muss, dass die Teppichmuster, die nach diesem neuen Prinzip komponiert sind, jenen Stoffen verblüffend ähneln, dann wird die Annahme zur Gewissheit: das Muster der "Damaskusteppiche" ist nicht zu trennen von dem Muster koptischer Stoffe. Nur unter ihrem Einfluss ist die Entstehung ihrer von allen anderen Teppichmustern des Mittelmeergebiets jener Zeit wesentlich verschiedene Form denkbar. Das ist keine äussere Ähnlichkeit mehr, die täuschen kann, das ist eine innere Verbundenheit, die eine andere Deutung ausschliesst.

<sup>14</sup> Das gelegentliche Vorkommen gruppierter Muster bei den "Holbeinteppeichen" mit grosser Quadrierung (Beispiele in Berlin, München, Istanbul und New York) geht, wie schon das Auftreten sonst unbekannter, nach

Ägyptenweisender Einzelformen, in den Füllungen beweist, sicher auf Anregung von der Seite der Mamlükenteppiche zurück.





ABB. 1—KOPTISCHE WIRKEREI DES 6. JAHRHUNDERTS. KAIRO, KOPTISCHES MUSEUM

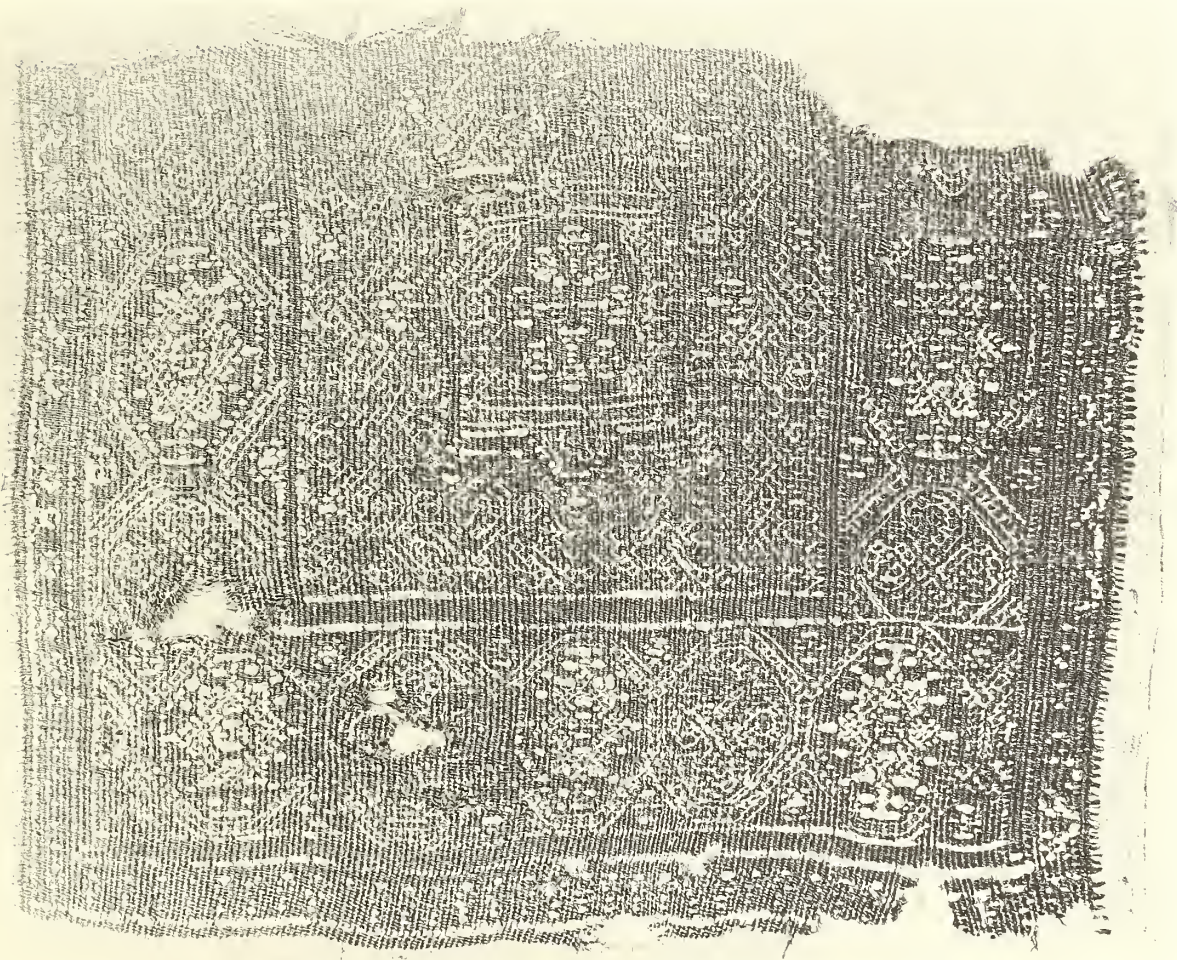


ABB. 2—KOPTISCHE WIRKEREI DES 6. JAHRHUNDERTS. BUDAPEST, PRIVATBESITZ



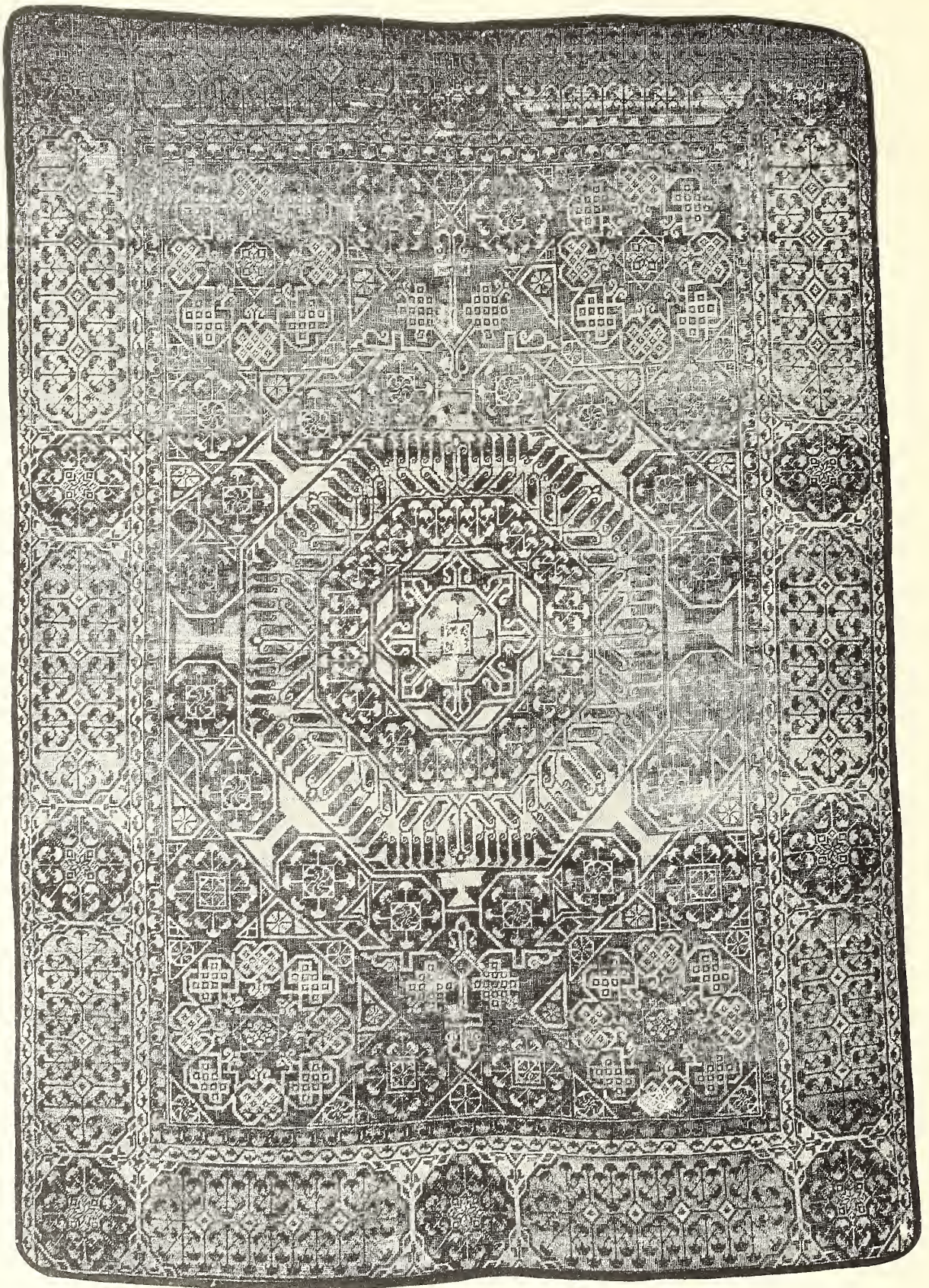


ABB. 3—MAMLÜKENTEPPICH. BERLIN, TEXTIL- UND MODE-FACHSCHULE





PHOT.: R. SOPRINTENDENZA, FIRENZE

ABB. 4—FRAGMENT EINES MAMLÜKENTEPPICHS. FLORENZ, MUSEO BARDINI





ABB. 5—AUSSCHNITT AUS EINEM MAMLÜKENTEPPICH. MÜNCHEN, KUNSTHANDEL



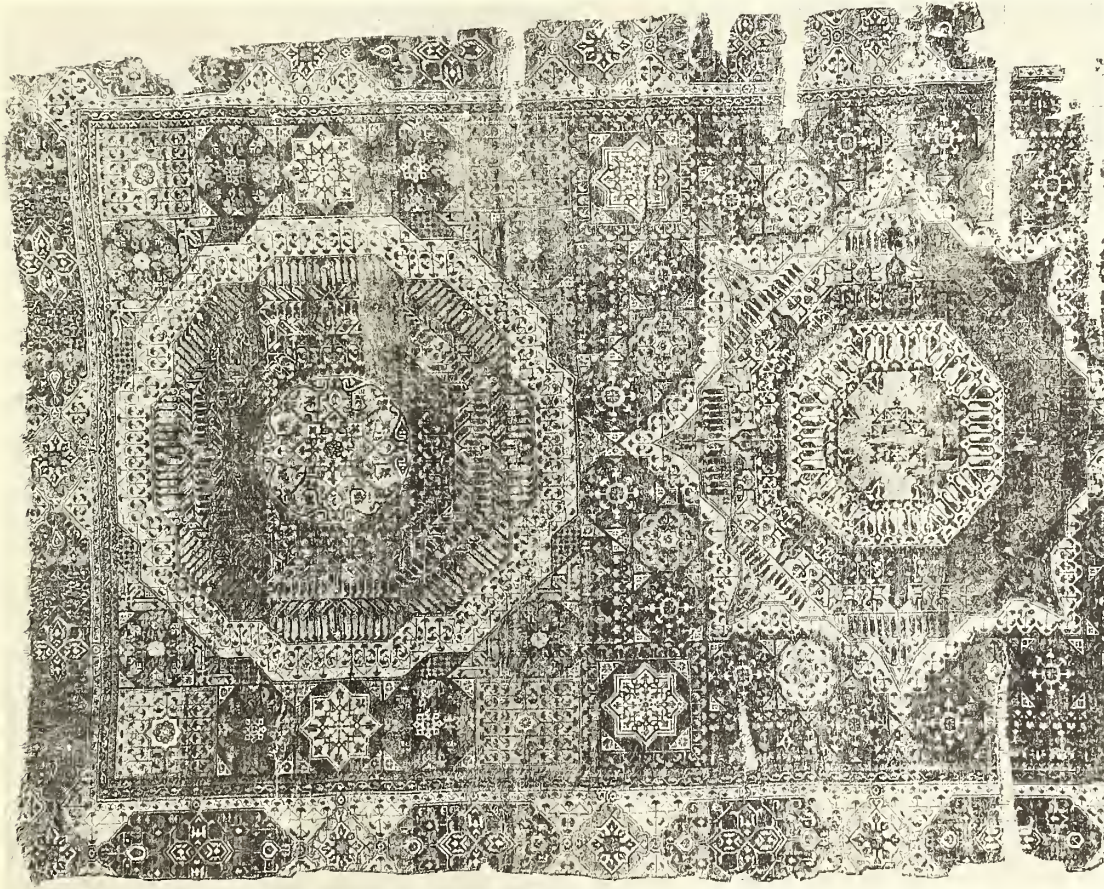


ABB. 6—AUSSCHNITT AUS EINEM MAMLÜKENTEPPICH. AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM

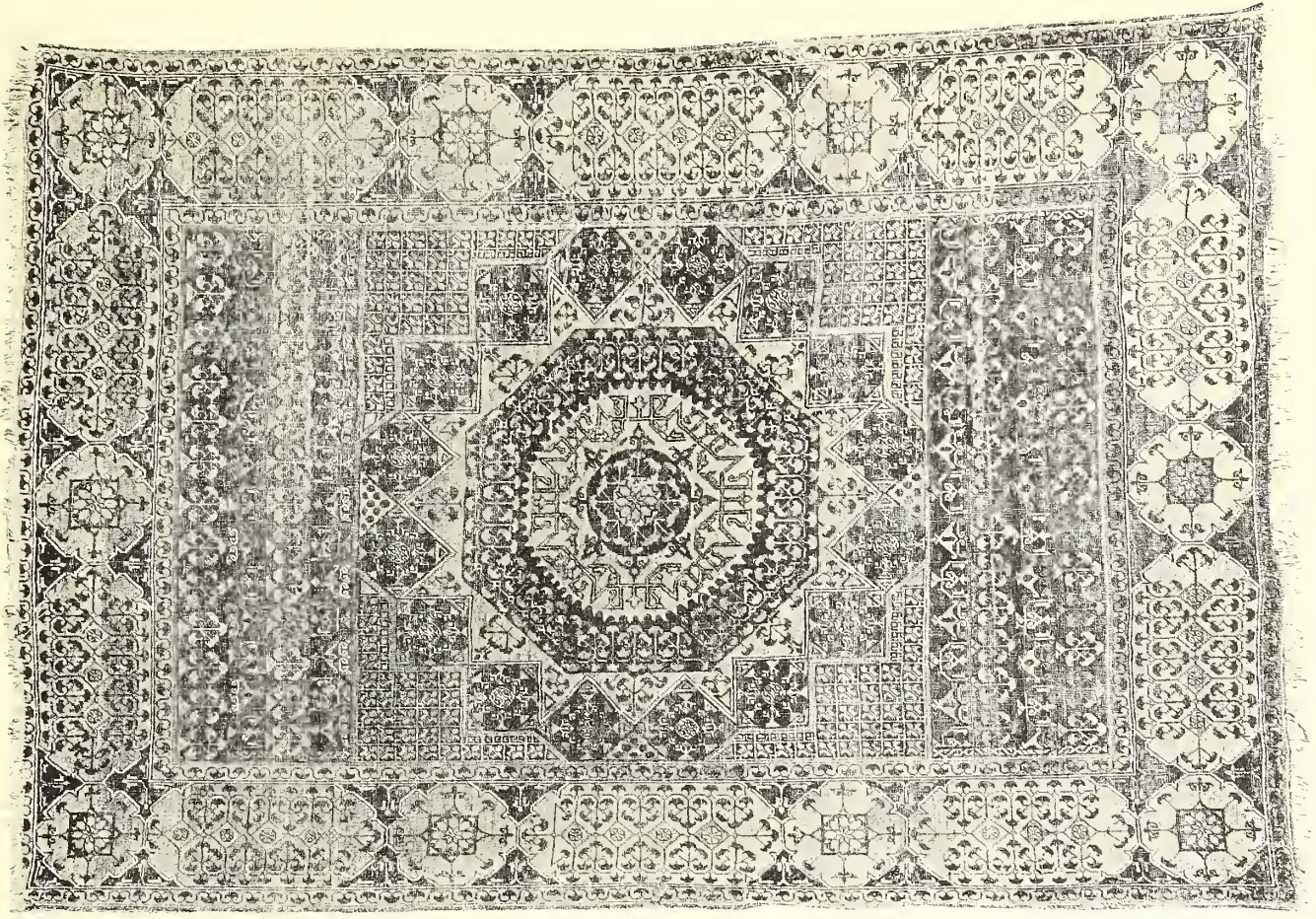


ABB. 7—MAMLÜKENTEPPICH. BERLIN, A. CASSIRSCHES NACHLASSVERWALTUNG





ABB. 8—MAMLÜKENTEPPICH ALS TISCHDECKE. L. LOTTO "BILDNIS DES APOSTOLISCHEN  
PROTONOTARS GIULIANO"  
LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

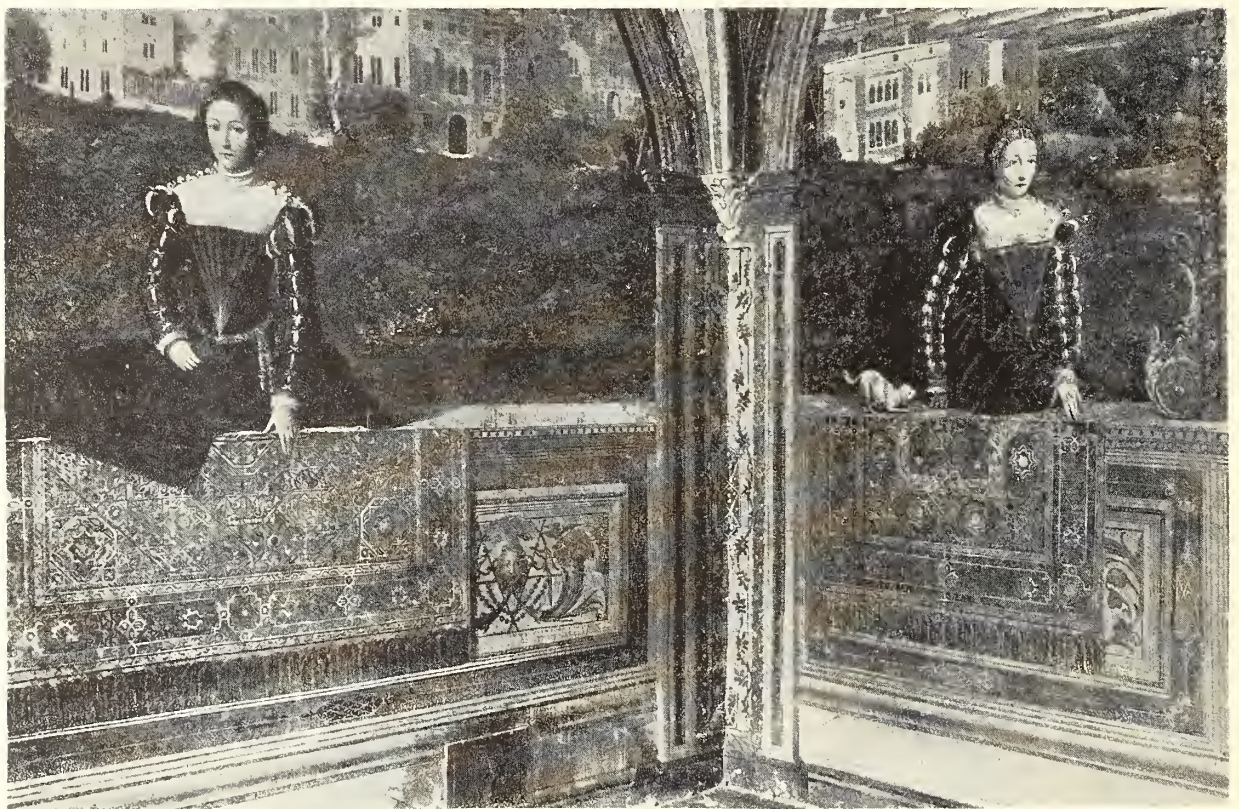


ABB. 9—MAMLÜKENTEPPICHE AUS DEM BESITZ DES HAUSES MARTINENGO  
FRESKEN VON MORETTO IM PALAZZO SALVADego IN BRESCIA



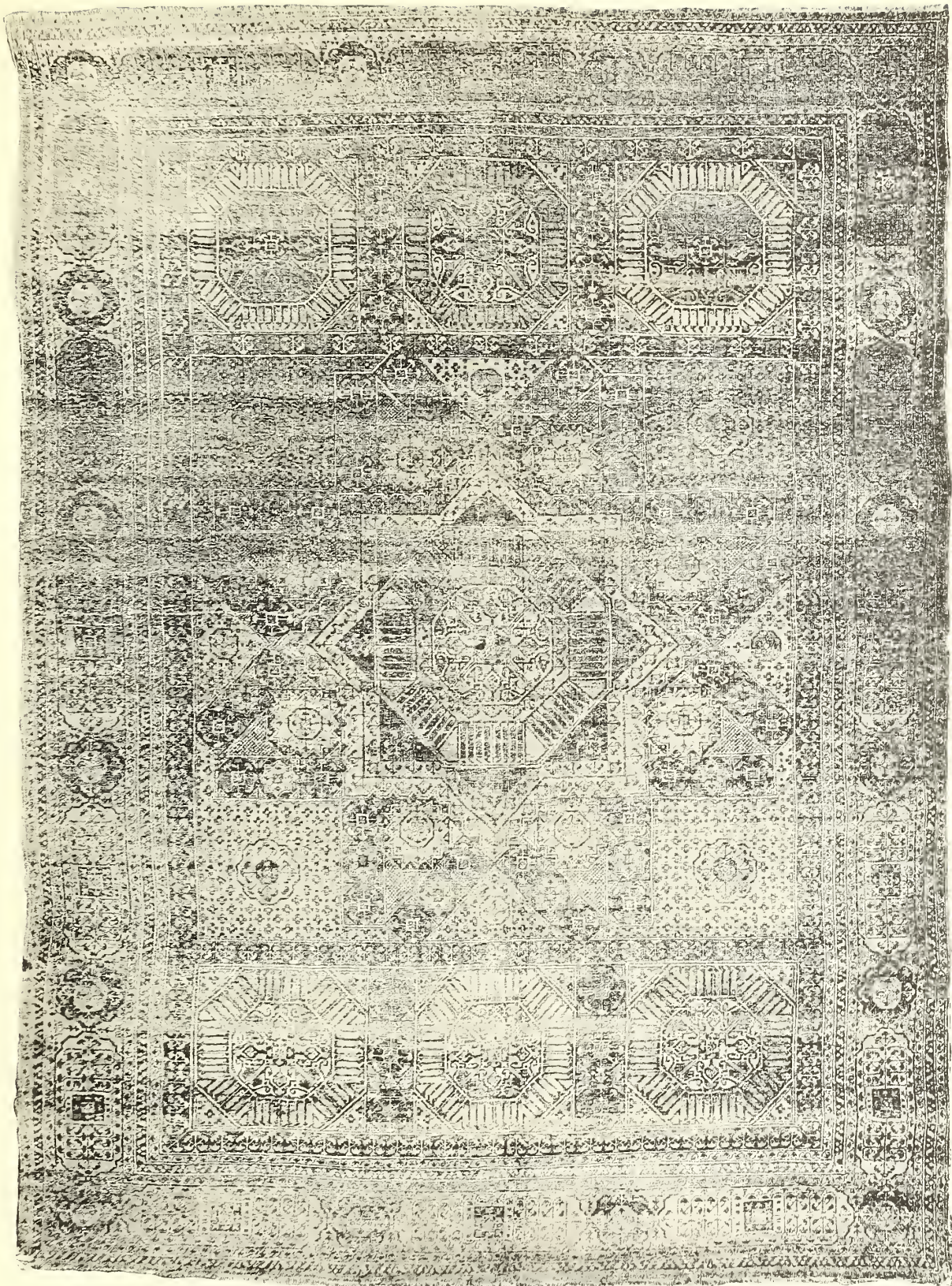


ABB. 10—MAMLÜKENTEPPICH MIT OSMANISCHEN EINFLÜSSEN. BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



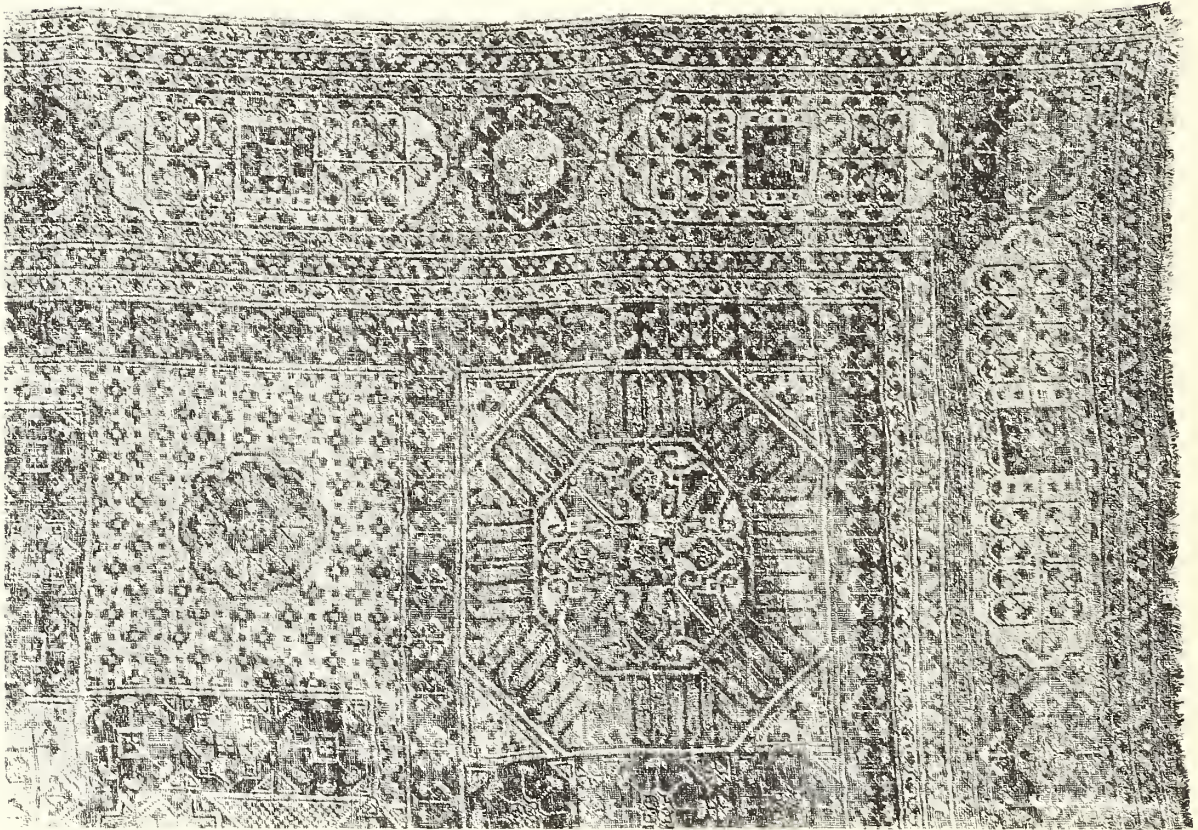


ABB. 11—AUSSCHNITT AUS DEM TEPPICH ABB. 10

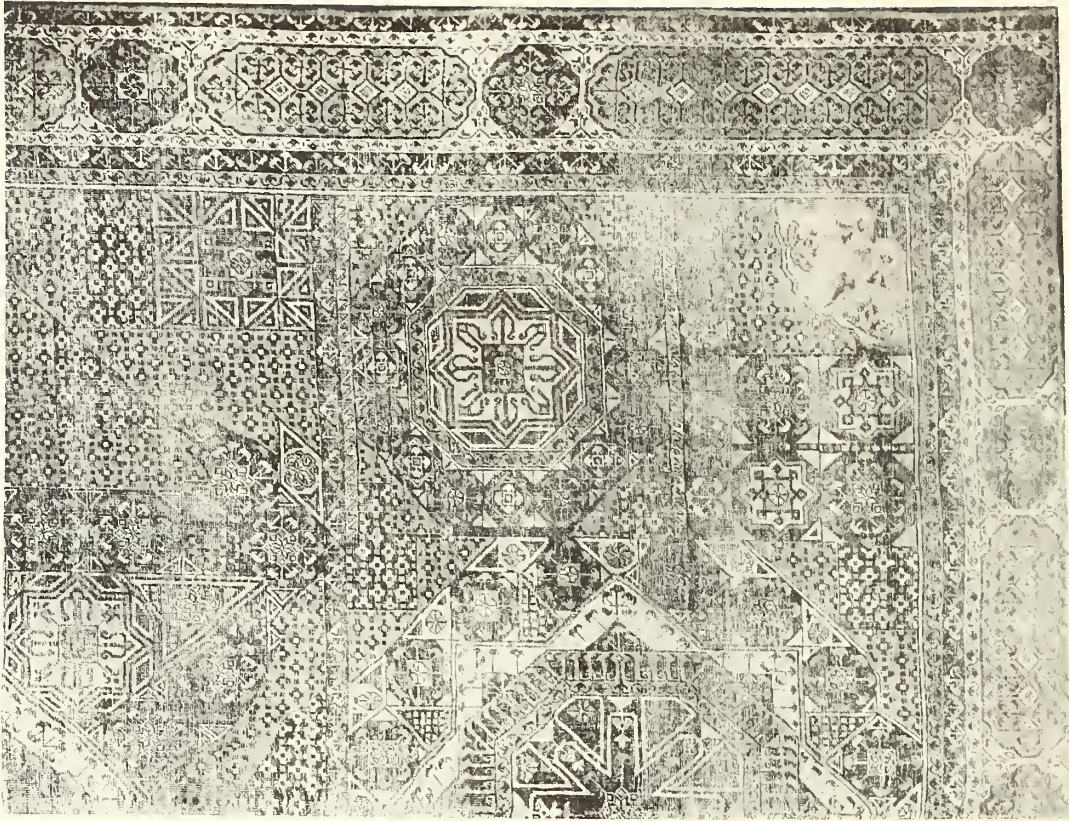


ABB. 12—AUSSCHNITT AUS EINEM MAMLÜKENTEPPICH MIT OSMANISCHEN EINFLUSSEN IM MUSEUM FÜR KUNST UND INDUSTRIE IN WIEN



Mit dieser Feststellung sind zwei Fragen zugleich beantwortet: die noch nie ernsthaft gestellte nach der Genesis der Muster und die so gründlich diskutierte nach dem Entstehungsgebiet dieser Teppiche.

Eine Schwierigkeit bleibt. Die zum Vergleich herangezogenen koptischen Stoffe sind von den Teppichen durch fast ein Jahrtausend getrennt. Besteht eine Möglichkeit, trotzdem eine bodenständige Tradition nachzuweisen? Kühnel meint, die ausführenden Meister hätten bei der Frage, die Produktion in Kairo aufzunehmen, auf diese Vorbilder zurückgegriffen, die ihnen unbekannte Umstände in die Hände gespielt hätten.<sup>15</sup> Wir wissen heute noch wenig von den textilen Erzeugnissen der Mamlukenzeit. Es scheint aber, dass der Formenwandel vom fätimidischen zum mamlukischen Textilstil in mancher Hinsicht mit einem Zurückgreifen auf Koptisches verbunden ist, das vielleicht nie ganz ausgestorben war. Besonders bei den mehr volkstümlichen Stickereien ist das deutlich zu spüren.<sup>16</sup> Damit wäre auch für die Teppiche eine Verbindung in dieser Richtung nahegelegt. Dass sie zu einer derart engen Anlehnung führte, ist wohl auf den fast teppichmässigen Aufbau der Stoffe zurückzuführen, die das Vorbild lieferten.

Die Frage, wann in Kairo eine Teppichmanufaktur entstand, kann ich hier nur streifen.<sup>17</sup> Sarre nahm an, dass es bereits in frühislamischer Zeit geschehen sei.<sup>18</sup> Das inzwischen aufgetauchte neue Material scheint seine Annahme zu stützen. Einen guten Überblick bietet die kürzlich von C. J. Lamm gegebene Zusammenstellung.<sup>19</sup> Von den 29 in Fustāt gefundenen Fragmenten, die er veröffentlicht, sind nicht weniger als 25 aus Kleinasien importiert. Nur bei vier Stücken denkt er an eine Entstehung in Ägypten. Zwei davon gehören einer verhältnismässig frühen Zeit an. Er bezeichnet sie als "Abbāsidenteppiche". Zu dieser Gruppe gehören in grösserem oder geringerem Abstand auch das bekannte Stück im Metropolitan Museum in New York,<sup>20</sup> die beiden Fragmente im Arabischen Museum in Kairo<sup>21</sup> mit ihrem Gegenstück

<sup>15</sup> Kühnel, *op. cit.*, S. 89. Es verdient vermerkt zu werden, dass sich R. M. Riefstahl ("Das Palmenmotiv auf einem ägyptischen Teppich der Ballard-Sammlung," *Jahrb. d. asiat. Kunst*, II [1925], S. 160) bei der Zeichnung der Mittelrosette auf dem Fragment der Ballard Collection an Koptisches erinnert fühlt, und dass Troll (*op. cit.*, S. 219) die grösste Ähnlichkeit mit den Mustern der Damaskusteppiche bei koptischen Bucheinbänden findet.

<sup>16</sup> Man vergleiche etwa den Randdekor einer mamlukischen Stickerei des Arabischen Museums in Kairo (Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Taf. IV, Abb. 6) mit der Borte des Teppichs Abbildung 4 oder die Oktogonformen bei E. Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Gräbern* (Berlin, 1927), Taf. 30, Nr. 1032, und Taf. 31, Nr. 3180 mit den in Anm. 6 genannten koptischen Beispielen auf der einen und "Damaskusteppichen" auf der anderen Seite. Auch die kandelaberartigen Motive, deren Vorkommen auf koptischen Stoffen Anm. 7 festgestellt wurde, finden

sich in verwandter Form auf mamlukischen Stickereien (*ibid.*, Taf. 31, Nr. 3180; Taf. 34, Nr. 4842, und Taf. 37, Nr. 3168).

<sup>17</sup> Ich werde auf die interessanten Probleme, die durch die in letzten Jahren in grösserer Anzahl zum Vorschein gekommenen Fragmente aufgeworfen worden sind, in einem Aufsatz über einige von den Staatlichen Museen in Berlin erworbene Stücke eingehen.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, S. 19–23.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, passim.

<sup>20</sup> M. S. Dimand, "An Early Cut-pile Rug from Egypt," *Metropolitan Mus. Studies*, IV (1933), S. 151–61; und R. M. Riefstahl, "Ein Knüpfteppich spätantiker Tradition aus Ägypten im Metropolitan Museum in New York," *Mitteil. d. deutschen archaeol. Instituts, Röm. Abt.*, XLVIII (1933), S. 126–52.

<sup>21</sup> Ali Ibrahim Pasha, "Early Islamic Rugs of Egypt or Fostat-Rugs," *Bull. de l'Institut de l'Égypte*, XVII (1934–35), S. 123–27.

in Philadelphia,<sup>22</sup> nach der Beschreibung wohl auch das in Karanis gefundene Stück<sup>23</sup> und mehrere unveröffentlichte Fragmente im Benaki Museum in Athen und in der Islamischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin. Bei dem grossen Fragment in New York handelt es sich nach den der Veröffentlichung beigegebenen technischen Diagrammen um eine ziemlich komplizierte Wirkarbeit mit aufgeschnittenen Noppen. Bei den anderen Stücken ist der Knoten nur um einen Kettfaden gelegt, eine Technik, die gelegentlich fälschlich als "spanische Knüpfung" beschrieben worden ist. Es scheint überhaupt keine eigentliche Knüpfung vorzuliegen. Die Fäden sind an den Kettfäden nicht wirklich befestigt, sondern nur locker als U-förmige Schlinge herumgelegt. Gehalten werden sie durch das feste Grundgewebe mit seiner meist grossen Zahl von Schussfäden. Eine solche Anbringung hat mit Knüpfung, wie wir sie von richtigen Teppichen kennen, nichts zu tun. Sie kann gar nicht mit der Hand um den freiliegenden einzelnen Kettfaden ausgeführt werden. Es dürfte sich daher auch bei diesen Stücken um eine Art von Wirkarbeit handeln, deren Noppen offenbar aufgeschnitten wurden, nachdem das Gewebe fest genug war.<sup>24</sup> Dabei mag das Vorbild echter Knüpfteppiche mitgewirkt haben, aber es ist reichlich gewagt, vor diesen Fragmenten von einer bodenständigen ägyptischen Teppichmanufaktur zu sprechen. Unter den Funden überwiegen daher auch die aus Kleinasien importierten Stücke durchaus. Spuren einer eigenen Produktion finden sich in Ägypten nicht vor dem 15. Jahrhundert.

Der Mitte oder dem dritten Viertel dieses Jahrhunderts schreibt Lamm die beiden anderen Fragmente zu, bei denen er ägyptische Herkunft annimmt. Wie die späteren "Damaskustepiche" sind sie im Sennaknoten gearbeitet, im Unterschied zu den kleinasiatischen Stücken, die stets den Ghiordesknoten zeigen.<sup>25</sup> Ihre Muster haben wenig Verbindung mit den "Damaskustepichen", deren Vorläufer sie sein müssten. Man muss sich daher fragen, ob man bei diesen Stücken nicht doch die Möglichkeit in Rechnung ziehen muss, dass sie aus Persien, das ja die Heimat des Sennaknoten ist, importiert wurden. Die verflochtene Kūfiborte des einen (Lamm Nr. 19) ist nach den Darstellungen der Miniaturen typisch für den persischen Teppich der Tīmūridenzeit und auch das geometrische Feldmuster des anderen (Lamm Nr. 18) könnte sehr wohl dort entstanden sein. Wir besitzen bis heute kein Original eines persischen Teppichs des 15. Jahrhunderts. Die Fragmente im Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris und im Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, sind sicher indisch, wahrscheinlich später, sagen also jedenfalls nichts über das Aussehen des persischen Teppichs vor der Entstehung der grossen Manufakturen aus.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Veröffentlicht von Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, S. 149 Anm. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Dimand, *op. cit.*, S. 150 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Gelegentlich ist allerdings das Flies dieser Noppenwirkereien so verfilzt und der einzelne Faden so trocken, dass man nicht mit Sicherheit entscheiden kann, ob die Noppen aufgeschnitten oder gebrochen sind.

<sup>25</sup> Lamm, *op. cit.*, S. 110–116.

<sup>26</sup> A. U. Pope, "Carpet Making," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London–New York, 1939), III, S. 2359–60 möchte

das Fragment nach Ostpersien setzen, muss dann aber selber so starke indische Elemente zugeben, dass er am Ende seiner Darlegungen mehr an die Entstehung in einem Grenzgebiet zwischen Khorasan und Indien denkt. Es ist nicht nur die naturalistische Zeichnung der Tierköpfe, die unpersisch wirkt. Das ganze Verhältnis der Musterung zum Grund die unbestimmte konturlose Angabe des Mittelmedaillons, die Zeichnung der Blütenstauden, die es füllen, die realistische Wiedergabe der



Als eigentliche Vorläufer der "Damaskusteppiche" könnte man unter Umständen eine kleine Gruppe wohl mamlükischer Noppenstoffe betrachten, deren geometrische Muster als Hauptfarben das typische Weinrot und Hellblau dieser Teppiche zeigen.<sup>27</sup>

Alles in allem besitzen wir bis heute keine sicheren Reste von "Damaskusteppichen" oder ihren geknüpften Vorstufen aus Fustāṭ. Das ist gewiss eigenartig, aber es enthält, wie auch Lamm betont, noch keinen Beweis gegen die Entstehung dieser Gattung in Ägypten. Dafür ist das vorhandene Material zu zufällig und gerade in Fustāṭ haben zu oft schon neue Funde das Bild mit einem Schlage verändert.

Eine unerwartete Bestätigung für die ägyptische Herkunft dieser Teppiche bietet ein bisher unbeachtetes Stück im Besitz der Fachschule für Textil und Mode in Berlin (Abb. 3). Es misst 131 zu 188 cm. Seine farbige Gesamtwirkung wird bestimmt durch ein gelbliches Grün, in dem der äussere Rahmen des mittleren Achtecks, alle Einzelformen der Innenfeldfüllung und der Grund der Kartuschen in der Borte gehalten sind. Ihm gegenüber tritt ein Weinrot, das die Grundfarbe des Innenfeldes bildet, aber auch im Kern des mittleren Achtecks und als Fonds der Achtecke in der Borte vorkommt, etwas zurück, während das sehr helle und ausgeblasste Blau, das im Feld für die rahmenden und verflochtenen Linien und in der Borte als Grund der Begleit- wie des Hauptstreifens verwendet ist, gar keine Rolle spielt. Der Muster- aufbau ist einfach, klar, fast nüchtern. Dem mittleren Achteck sind dabei auf jeder Seite zwei kleine Achtecke vorgelagert, zwischen die jeweils eine eigenartige Form eingeschoben ist, die auf den ersten Blick ein Füllmotiv zu sein scheint. Füllmotive verschiedener Art kommen auf jedem dieser Teppiche vor, aber sie treten naturgemäss nur an den Ecken und nicht in den Seitenmitten auf. Auch auf dem vorliegenden Teppich finden sie sich, verhältnismässig klein, in der Form von Pfeilspitzen dort, wo die vorgelagerten kleinen Achtecke zweier benachbarter Seiten zusammenstossen. In den Seitenmitten dagegen können sie unter keinen Umständen als Füllungen gedeutet werden. Im Gegenteil, die beiden kleinen Achtecke jeder Seite, die sonst stets aneinanderstossen, sind hier bewusst auseinander gerückt, um Platz zu schaffen für diese Figur, die also offenbar eine selbstständige Bedeutung hat. Ihr Umriss wird am klarsten in der Mitte der oberen und unteren Seite, an den sechs anderen ist sie leicht in die Länge gezogen. Was sie darstellen soll, ist eindeutig: einen Kelch. Kelche dieser Art sind aber eins der typischen Wappenzeichen der mamlükischen Kunst, das wir in Tausenden von Beispielen von Metallarbeiten, emaillierten Glasgefässen und glasierten Keramiken ebenso kennen wie an Gebäuden, Holzgeräten oder auf Stoffen.<sup>28</sup> Sein Vorkommen auf diesem Teppich verbindet diesen und mit ihm die ganze Gruppe eng mit dem mamlükischen Kunstkreis, ja es ist bei der Art seiner Anbringung durchaus denkbar, dass es auch hier noch angeben soll, der Besitzer des Teppichs habe am Hof eines Mamlükensultans die Würde des Mundschenken inne gehabt.

Blüten sind ebenso unpersisch und weisen ebenso stark nach Indien, wie die Typen der Tierköpfe, die Farbgebung und die Knüpfttechnik. Zu den drei Stücken in Paris kommt ein viertes im Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Zu der Borte, die in Paris an das mittlere Stücke

angefügt ist, befindet sich ein weiteres Fragment im Besitz des Kestnermuseums in Hannover.

<sup>27</sup> Zwei unveröffentlichte Beispiele in Berlin.

<sup>28</sup> L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933), S. 10–11.

Damit dürfte die erste Frage beantwortet sein. Es kann kein Zweifel bestehen, dass diese Teppiche, die man als "Damaskusteppiche" bezeichnet, in Ägypten entstanden sind und mit ihren frühen Exemplaren in die Mamlükenzeit zurückreichen. Sicher sind manche der erhaltenen Stücke nach der Eroberung Kairos durch die Osmanen im Jahre 1517 gefertigt, aber die Ausbildung ihrer eigenartigen Formenwelt gehört so ganz in die vorangehende Periode, dass es berechtigt ist, sie als Mamlükenteppiche zu bezeichnen.

Die chronologische Anordnung dieser Mamlükenteppiche, von denen sich eine erhebliche Anzahl erhalten hat, steckt noch in den Anfängen. Den ersten Versuch habe ich vor zehn Jahren gemacht, als ich ein in München aufgetauchtes Stück veröffentlichte.<sup>29</sup> Eingehender behandelt S. Troll<sup>30</sup> diese Fragen. Er unterscheidet unter den reinen "Damaskusteppichen" zwei Gruppen, die er als die "dreifarbig" und als die "rotgrundig" bezeichnet. Sein Grundgedanke ist richtig, nur die Bezeichnungen sind vielleicht nicht ganz glücklich gewählt. Roter Grund kommt nämlich auch in der dreifarbigen Gruppe vor. Es wäre daher besser gewesen, von einer "dreifarbig" und einer "vielfarbig" Gruppe zu sprechen. Dass dieser Bereicherung der Farbenskala eine allmähliche Erweiterung in der Auswahl der verwendeten Einzelformen und eine langsame Auflockerung der Musterung entspricht, deutet auch Troll an, aber da er seine Liste der Motive nicht auf diese beiden Gruppen begrenzt, ergibt sich kein ganz klares Bild. Ich fürchte, solche tabellarischen Zusammenstellungen wirken leicht etwas ermüdend und möchte mich darum auf eine einfache Gegenüberstellung beschränken. Neben den eben besprochenen Teppich aus dem Besitz der Fachschule für Textil und Mode in Berlin (*Abb. 3*) stelle ich das ebenfalls unveröffentlichte Fragment eines grossen Teppichs im Museo Bardini in Florenz (*Abb. 4*).<sup>31</sup>

Der stilistische Unterschied dieser beiden Teppiche ist unverkennbar. Die Musterung des Berliner Stücks ist einfach und kommt mit wenigen Einzelformen aus. Das Zentrum bildet ein kleines Achteck, das ein mit einer Wirbelrosette gefülltes Quadrat umschliesst, von dessen Ecken und Seitenmitten kleine gestielte Schirmblätter ausstrahlen. Dieses Achteck wird in seiner zweiten Zone durch radiale, lilienartige Gebilde in einen achtstrahligen Stern überführt, der wieder einem Achteck einbeschrieben ist. Diese zentrale Figur ist durch zwei breitere Rahmen, von denen der innere gegenständige Stauden aus je sechs Schirmblättern, der äussere zwei Reihen von stehenden, lanzettförmig gebildeten Arabeskenblättern als Füllung trägt, zu einem das Feld beherrschenden Achteck erweitert. Jeder Seite dieses Achtecks sind zwei kleine Achtecke vorgelagert, deren Füllung der des Teppichzentrums entspricht. Zwischen ihnen ist das bereits erwähnte Kelchmotiv eingeschoben. In den Ecken findet sich ein etwas grösseres Achteck, dessen Füllung sich von den der anderen nur dadurch unterscheidet, dass die

<sup>29</sup> K. Erdmann, "Some Observations on the So-called 'Damascus Rugs'," *Art in America*, XIX (1930), S. 3-22.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, S. 201-31.

<sup>31</sup> Florenz, Museo Bardini, Nr. 722, etwa 190 zu 290

cm, rund 2100 Knoten, 6 Farben. Für die Erlaubnis der Veröffentlichung danke ich der R. Soprintendenza in Florenz.



Seitenmitten des mittleren Quadrates anstelle des einzelnen Schirmblattes eine Staude aus drei Schirmblättern tragen. Da der Teppich als Ganzes längliches Format hat, bleiben oben und unten schmalere Reststreifen, die rechts und links je ein Quadrat mit Eckabschrägung und füllender Flechtwerkrosette um einen mittleren achtstrahligen Stern zeigen, während die Mitte dadurch gefüllt wird, dass hier das grosse Mitteloktogen gegiebelt ist, wobei ähnliche Flechtformen verwendet werden wie in den seitlichen Quadraten. An den Schmalseiten sind dann wieder zwei Achtecke der reicheren Form angebracht, wie sie die Ecken neben dem mittleren Achteck füllen. Die Borte zeigt innen und aussen eine in Schirmblättern intermittierende Ranke und im Hauptstreifen wechselnd Kartuschen und Achtpässe. Die Füllung der Kartuschen besteht aus zwei Reihen der gegenständigen Stauden von je sechs Schirmblättern, die der Achtpässe aus einer Variante der im Innenfeld geläufigen Form, bei der von den Ecken des Quadrates die üblichen einfachen Schirmblätter, von den Seitenmitten aber Stauden aus fünf solcher Blätter ausstrahlen. Die ganze Dekoration wird also in der Hauptsache von dem Schirmblatt bestritten, das einzeln (gestielt oder an einer Ranke intermittierend) und als Staude zu drei, fünf und sechs Blättern auftritt. Daneben finden sich stehende, lanzettförmig stilisierte Arabeskeblätter und endlich Flechtbänder, die aber etwas aus dem Rahmen dieser erstaunlich einheitlichen Musterung herausfallen.<sup>32</sup>

Das Muster des Florentiner Stücks (*Abb. 4*) ist sehr viel reicher.<sup>33</sup> Den Mittelpunkt bildet ein achtstrahliger Stern mit radialen, lilienförmigen Blüten, um den ein Achteck gelegt ist, das sich in vier breiten Rahmenstreifen zur beherrschenden Figur des ganzen Musters entwickelt. Der innere dieser vier Streifen ist aus eng aneinander geschobenen Rosetten gebildet, der folgende zeigt eine lockere Füllung mit entstellten kufischen Schriftzeichen, der dritte ein feingliedriges Rankenwerk mit je einer Palmettenbüte in der Mitte der Seiten, erst der äussere Streifen bringt ein bekanntes Motiv, die doppelte Reihe stehender lanzettförmiger Arabeskeblätter. Durch Giebelung der Seiten wird dies Achteck in einen Stern überführt, dessen acht Strahlen jeweils als Füllung ein lilienartiges Gebilde mit einer Musterung aus Schirmblattstauden tragen. In den vier Ecken des Feldes ist ein grösseres Quadrat angebracht, dessen mittleres Achteck von einem lockeren Rankenwerk aus Lanzett-, Schirm- und Pfeilspitzenblättern umgeben ist. Von den Seitenmitten des Feldes gehen nach innen gerichtete Dreiecke aus, die die Spitzen des grossen Mittelsterns berühren. Die verbleibende Fläche ist mit Quadraten gefüllt, in die Achtecke einbeschrieben sind, und zwar findet sich ein grösseres Quadrat zwischen je zwei Strahlen des Mittelsterns, während je drei kleinere Quadrate den Seiten der Eckquadrate und der von den Seitenmitten des Feldes ausgehenden Dreiecke vorgelagert sind. Alle diese Quadrate sind durch Eckabschrägungen in Oktogone überführt, deren

<sup>32</sup> Es kann dabei nicht übersehen werden, dass diese Oktogonfüllungen in ihrem Aufbau starke Ähnlichkeiten mit den Oktogonen der kleinteilig quadrierten "Holbeinteppiche" haben, deren frühere Stücke nach der Aussage der italienischen Bilder ebenfalls in das 15. Jahrhundert gehören.

<sup>33</sup> Es ist für diesen Vergleich nicht von Bedeutung, dass das Florentiner Stück nur ein Fragment, offenbar das Mittelstück eines drei- oder fünffeldigen Teppichs ist; denn die einzelnen Felder dieser grossen Teppiche pflegen selbständig gemustert zu sein.

Füllung aus radial angeordneten Motiven besteht, nur ist an die Stelle des mittleren kleinen Quadrates, das der Berliner Teppich an dieser Stelle zeigte, hier eine Rosett- oder Sternform getreten, und die radialen Motive strahlen nicht mehr aus, sondern sind nach innen gerichtet. Schirmblätter und Schirmblattstauden kommen zwar immer noch vor, neben ihnen treten aber, besonders in den grossen Quadraten am mittleren Stern, symmetrisch angelegte, kandelaberartige Motive von sehr viel reicherer Form auf. Die Borte zeigt doppelte innere und äussere Begleitstreifen mit fortlaufenden, locker gezeichneten Blattranken. Im Hauptstreifen ist der Wechsel von Kartuschen und Achtpässen beibehalten,<sup>34</sup> nur sind die Füllungen auch hier weniger schematisch, sondern zeigen in lebendiger Führung zierliches Rankenwerk, bei dem pfeilspitzenförmige Blätter die Schirmblätter nahezu verdrängt haben. Dieser reicheren Musterrung entsprechend ist auch die Farbgebung um drei neue Töne bereichert. Neben den leitenden Farben Weinrot, Hellblau und Grün kommen Gelb, Weiss und Schwarz vor. Besonders das leuchtende Gelb der vier Dreiecke, die von den Seitenmitten des Feldes nach innen ausgehen, gibt dem Stück eine ungewohnt warme Note. Weiss ist nur in kleinen Tupfen verwendet, Schwarz findet sich als Konturierung und bei einzelnen Details, besonders wirkungsvoll bei den Schirmblattstauden in den gelben Dreiecken.

Der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Teppichen liegt nicht nur in dem grösseren Farben- und Formenreichtum des Florentiner Stücks, sondern auch, ja mehr noch in der Art wie diese neuen Formen gezeichnet und verwendet werden. Klare Umrisslinien werden vermieden. Die kleinen Quadrate z.B. sind vielfach nur durch die sie füllenden Motive angegeben, ebenso sind die einzelnen Formen untereinander oft nicht mehr verbunden, sondern gewissermassen als "Streumuster" verteilt, wobei sie die Fläche sehr viel enger bedecken als beim Berliner Stück, so dass der Grund des Feldes unter der Menge der füllenden Formen nahezu verschwindet. Die Zeichnung ist locker, fast flockig und gibt bei aller Strenge der Grundmusterung der Oberfläche einen malerischen Reiz, der auf das stärkste kontrastiert mit der fast "geometrischen" Nüchternheit des Berliner Stücks.

Diese beiden Teppiche stellen gewissermassen die äussersten Punkte in der Entwicklung der Mamlükenteppiche dar. Jedenfalls sind unter den mir bekannten Exemplaren keine, die mit Sicherheit eine frühere Entwicklungsstufe vertreten als das hier abgebildete Berliner Stück und nur wenige, die man später ansetzen möchte als das Florentiner Stück.

Ordnet man die bekannteren der erhaltenen Stücke zwischen diese beiden Eckpunkte ein, so ergibt sich grob gesehen etwa folgende Gruppierung:

Dem Berliner Stück (1) stehen nahe:

2. der vor etwa 10 Jahren im Münchener Handel aufgetauchte grosse Teppich<sup>35</sup> (Abb. 5)

<sup>34</sup> Auf dem Fragment erscheinen allerdings in der Mitte zwei Achtpässe nebeneinander. Trotzdem ist mit Sicherheit mit einem im übrigen normalen Wechsel von Pässen und Kartuschen zu rechnen. Ähnliches Zusammentreffen von Achtpässen in der Mitte der Längsseiten

bei sonst normaler Borte zeigen die Teppiche der Sammlung Mounsey und Benguiat 1926, Nr. 55.

<sup>35</sup> Erdmann, *op. cit.*, S. 3-22 Abb. 1. Der Teppich ist dreifarbig und misst 234 zu 498 cm.



3. der Teppich mittlerer Grösse in der Sammlung Georges Blumenthal,<sup>36</sup>
4. der kleine Teppich, der sich ehemals in der Sammlung F. Sarre, Berlin befand,<sup>37</sup>
5. der kleine Teppich J. 22 im Besitz der Islamischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin,<sup>38</sup> und
6. ein Teppich mittlerer Grösse im Besitz der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. (*Abb. 10* und *11*)<sup>39</sup>

Mit diesem Teppich sind eng verwandt:

7. ein Teppich mittlerer Grösse im Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien,<sup>40</sup>
8. ein entsprechender Teppich in Schweizer Privatbesitz, der vermutlich mit einem Teppich, der 1935 im Pariser Handel war, identisch ist,<sup>41</sup>
9. ein Teppich mittlerer Grösse im Museum zu Strassburg<sup>42</sup> und
10. der kürzlich im Museum für Kunst und Industrie zum Vorschein gekommene Teppich.<sup>43</sup> (*Abb. 12*)

In den Zusammenhang dieser Gruppe gehören auch die kleinen Teppiche:

11. im Depot des National Museums in Budapest,<sup>44</sup>
12. im Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris,<sup>45</sup>
13. in der Sammlung des Grafen Vincent Baillet-Latour,<sup>46</sup>
14. in der Sammlung Kálmán Giergl in Budapest,<sup>47</sup>
15. ehemals im Besitz von Gebr. Bernheimer in München,<sup>48</sup>
16. im Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien,<sup>49</sup> und
17. ein zweites Stück daselbst.<sup>50</sup>

Etwas später könnten die ebenfalls meist noch dreifarbigem Teppiche:

18. im Völkerkunde Museum in München,<sup>51</sup>
19. in der Sammlung John D. McIlhenny,<sup>52</sup>

<sup>36</sup> M. S. Dimand, *A Guide to an Exhibition of Oriental Rugs and Textiles*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1935), Fig. 15.

<sup>37</sup> Farbige Abbildung bei W. Grote-Hasenbalg, *Der Orientteppich, seine Geschichte und Kultur* (Berlin, 1922), Taf. 7; der Teppich ist dreifarbig und misst 195 zu 230 cm.

<sup>38</sup> K. Erdmann, *Orientteppiche* (Berlin, 1935), Abb. 33. Der Teppich ist dreifarbig und misst 139 zu 200 cm.

<sup>39</sup> Museum Nr. 83,571. Der Teppich ist in der Hauptsache dreifarbig unter stellenweiser Verwendung von Gelb (vergl. S. 72), er misst 230 zu 315 cm.

<sup>40</sup> F. Sarre-H. Trenkwald, *Altorientalische Teppiche* (Wien und Leipzig, 1926-28), I, Taf. 50. Der Teppich ist dreifarbig und misst 334 zu 470 cm.

<sup>41</sup> Unveröffentlicht.

<sup>42</sup> Unveröffentlicht, Inv. Nr. 3347, 230 zu 260 cm.

<sup>43</sup> Vergl. Troll, *op. cit.*, S. 203 Abb. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Unveröffentlicht, dreifarbig.

<sup>45</sup> Unveröffentlicht, *Katalog*, Nr. 933, dreifarbig, 135 zu 211 cm.

<sup>46</sup> A. Riegl, *Orientalische Teppiche* (Wien, 1892-95), Taf. XXXVIII, Nr. 53, dreifarbig, 248 zu 265 cm.

<sup>47</sup> L. Eber, "Giergl Kálmán Gyűjteménye," *Magyar Iparművészet*, X (1907), S. 101, Abb. 158.

<sup>48</sup> Unveröffentlicht, dreifarbig, 130 zu 175 cm.

<sup>49</sup> Sarre-Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, I. Taf. 47, dreifarbig, 240 zu 260 cm.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, I. Taf. 48, dreifarbig, 252 zu 316 cm.

<sup>51</sup> Unveröffentlicht, Stiftung Bassermann-Jordan, Inv. Nr. 32.52.13, dreifarbig.

<sup>52</sup> *Catalogue, Exhibition* (Cleveland, 1919-20), Taf. XIV, Nr. 37; 130 zu 195 cm.

- 20. im Gemeente Museum in Haag,<sup>53</sup>
- 21. ehemals in Berliner Privatbesitz<sup>54</sup> und
- 22. im Besitz der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin sein.<sup>55</sup>

Hierher gehören auch:

- 23. ein Teppich mittlerer Grösse im Kunstgewerbemuseum zu Dresden,<sup>56</sup>
- 24. ein Fragment daselbst,<sup>57</sup>
- 25. ein Fragment in der Sammlung Dr. Herz in Budapest,<sup>58</sup>
- 26. ein Fragment im Grassi Museum in Leipzig<sup>59</sup> und
- 27. ein weiteres Fragment im Kunstgewerbemuseum in Dresden.<sup>60</sup>

Zwischen dieser ersten Gruppe und der zweiten, die sich um das Florentiner Stück bilden lässt, stehen vermutlich:

- 28. ein Teppich mittlerer Grösse beim Baron Hatvany in Budapest,<sup>61</sup>
- 29. das Fragment eines grossen Teppich im Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris,<sup>62</sup>
- 30. ein kleiner Teppich im Louvre,<sup>63</sup>
- 31. ein grosser Teppich im Lenbachhaus in München,<sup>64</sup>
- 32. ein kleiner Teppich im Städtischen Museum zu Strassburg,<sup>65</sup>
- 33. ein kleiner Teppich im Besitz der Alfred Cassirerschen Nachlassverwaltung in Berlin<sup>66</sup> (*Abb. 7*),
- 34. ein kleiner Teppich, der sich ehemals in der Sammlung Georg Hirth in München befand.<sup>67</sup>

Um den Florentiner Teppich (35), der das Mittelstück eines grossen Teppichs ist, lassen sich gruppieren:

- 36. der berühmte Seidenteppich in Wien,<sup>68</sup>
- 37. der bekannte Teppich, der sich 1910 in der Galleria Simonetti befand,<sup>69</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Kürzlich erworben, vordem Sammlung Heinrich Wulff, Kopenhagen (*Kat.*, Taf. 18), Troll, *op. cit.*, Fig. 5; dreifarbig, 155 zu 195 cm.

<sup>54</sup> K. Erdmann, "Ägyptische Teppiche" *Kunstwanderer*, 1930-31, S. 196-200, Abb. 3-4.

<sup>55</sup> Unveröffentlicht, Inv. Nr. 82,704, dreifarbig, 136 zu 208 cm.

<sup>56</sup> Unveröffentlicht, Inv. Nr. 20577, dreifarbig, 255 zu 265 cm.

<sup>57</sup> Unveröffentlicht, Inv. Nr. 22179, dreifarbig, 61 zu 65 cm.

<sup>58</sup> Unveröffentlicht, dreifarbig, etwa 60 zu 120 cm.

<sup>59</sup> Unveröffentlicht, dreifarbig, 58 zu 65 cm.

<sup>60</sup> Unveröffentlicht, Inv. Nr. 107, dreifarbig, 40 zu 40 cm.

<sup>61</sup> Unveröffentlicht, vierfarbig, 263 zu 277 cm.

<sup>62</sup> Unveröffentlicht, erwähnt bei G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris, 1927), II, 398.

<sup>63</sup> Unveröffentlicht, vierfarbig.

<sup>64</sup> Unveröffentlicht, etwa 450 zu 900 cm, vier oder mehrfarbig, das Muster wirkt eklektisch.

<sup>65</sup> Unveröffentlicht, Inv. Nr. 3342, 138 zu 178 cm.

<sup>66</sup> Unveröffentlicht, vierfarbig, 135 zu 200 cm.

<sup>67</sup> *Versteigerungskatalog*, 1916, Nr. 869, Taf. 119; 195 zu 230 cm.

<sup>68</sup> Sarre-Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 44-46, zwölfarbig, 290 zu 540 cm.

<sup>69</sup> F. R. Martin-F. Sarre, *Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst* (München, 1912), I, Taf. 78. Ehemals Sammlung Guida da Faenza, farbige Abbildung im *Versteigerungskatalog*, 21.-27. IV. 1902, Nr. 423, Taf. 26, mehrfarbig, 224 zu 878 cm.



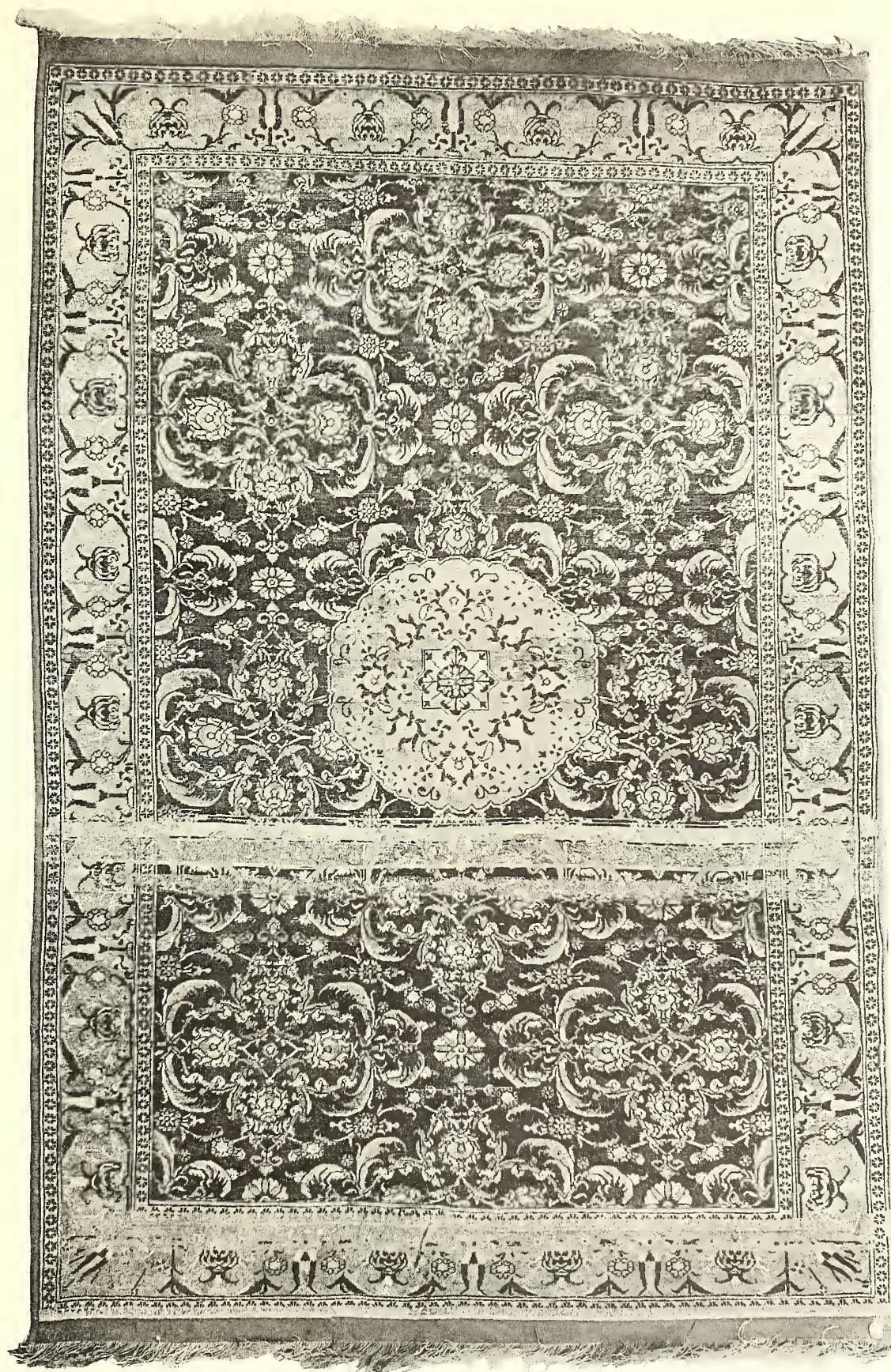


ABB. 13—OSMANENTEPPICH MIT MAMLÜKISCHEN EINZELFORMEN  
KUNSTHANDEL, FLORENZ



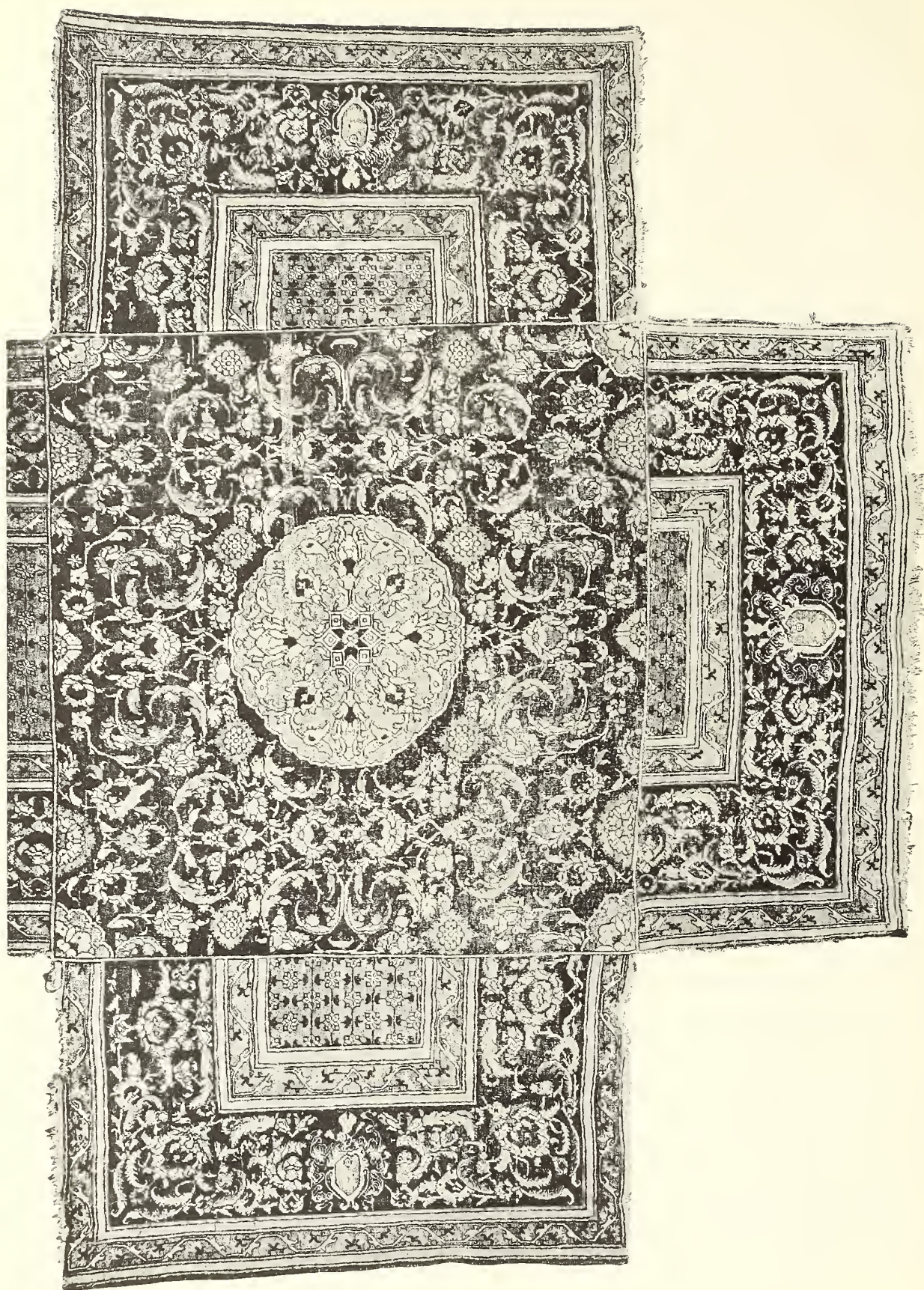


ABB. 14—KREUZFÖRMIGE TISCHDECKE MIT MAMLÜKISCHEN UND OSMANISCHEN FORMEN  
SAN GIMIGNANO, MUSEO CIVICO





ABB. 15—KREUZFÖRMIGE TISCHDECKE IM OSMANISCHEN STIL. LONDON, VICTORIA  
AND ALBERT MUSEUM



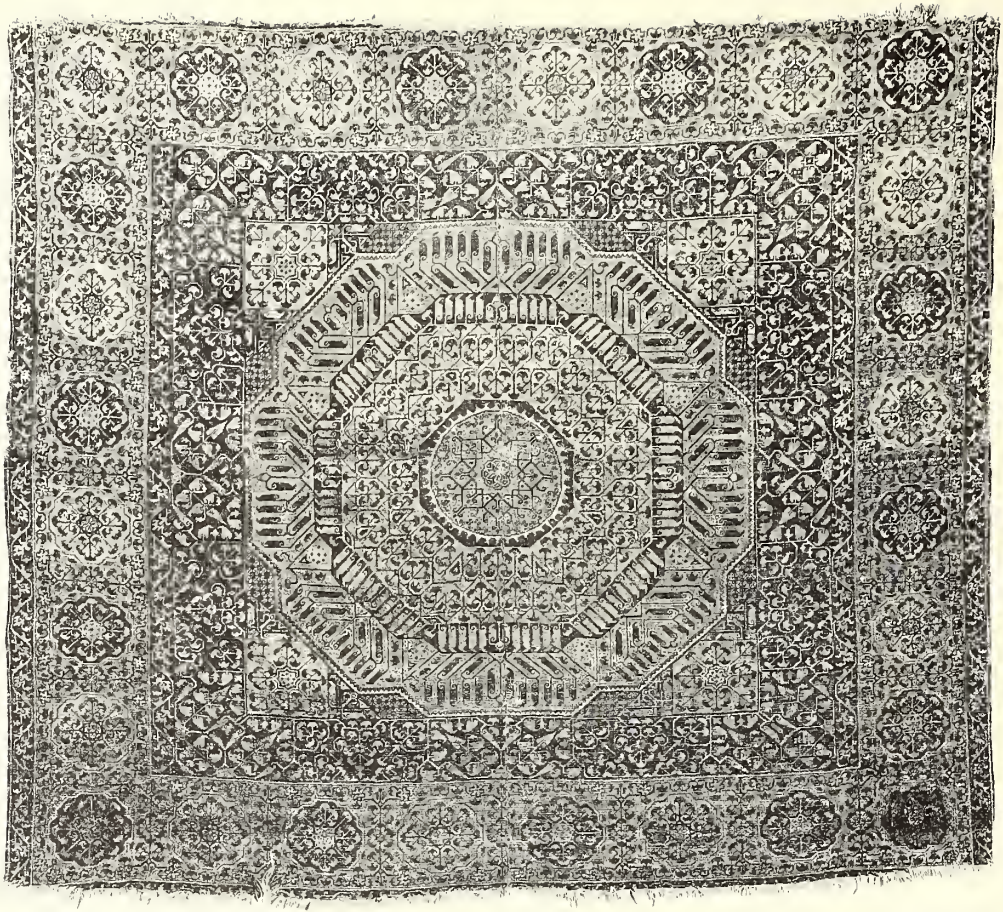


ABB. 16—MAMLÜKENTEPPICH, EHEMALS SAMMLUNG G. HIRTH, MÜNCHEN

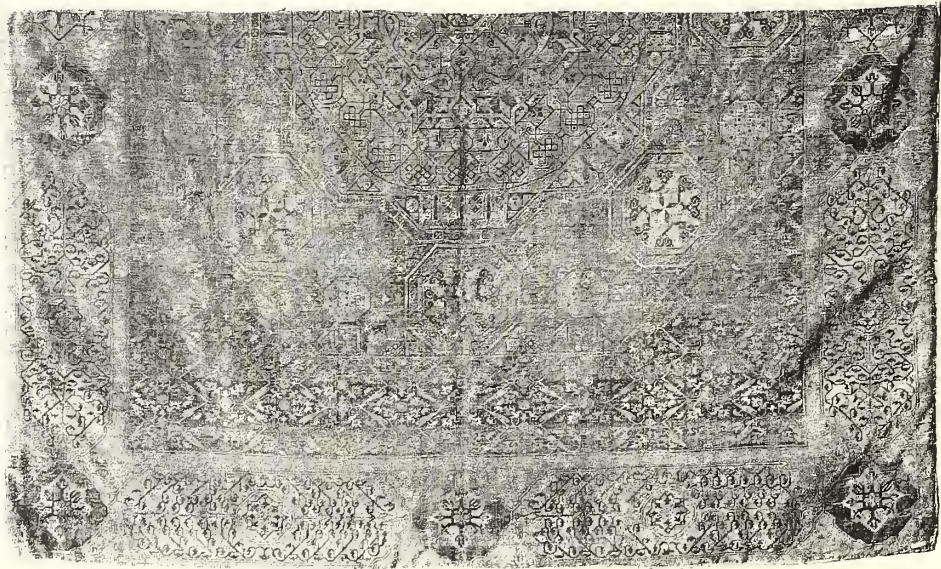


ABB. 17—MAMLÜKENTEPPICH. BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



38. ein weiterer grosser Teppich, der vor einigen Jahren vom Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam erworben wurde<sup>70</sup> (*Abb. 6*),
39. das Fragment eines grossen Teppich in der Ballard Collection,<sup>71</sup>
40. ein kleiner Teppich, der sich ehemals in der Sammlung Georg Hirth in München befand,<sup>72</sup>
41. ein kleiner Teppich, dem die Borte einer Längsseite fehlt, in der Islamischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin,<sup>73</sup>
42. das Fragment eines kleinen Teppichs im Besitz der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin<sup>74</sup> (*Abb. 17*),
43. ein Fragment in der Sammlung Kelekian<sup>75</sup> und
44. ein Fragment im Kunstgewerbemuseum in Dresden.<sup>76</sup>

Später als die Gruppe des Florentiner Stückes dürften sein:

45. der kürzlich von S. Troll aus zahlreichen Fragmenten zusammengesetzte grosse Teppich im Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien<sup>77</sup> und vielleicht auch
46. der kleine Teppich der Joseph Lee Williams Memorial Collection<sup>78</sup> und
47. der kleine Teppich der George Mounsey Collection.<sup>79</sup>

Bei folgenden Stücken besitze ich zu ungenügende Aufnahmen oder Notizen, um ihre Einordnung selbst in diesen grob umrissenen Rahmen zu wagen:

48. kleiner Teppich ehemals im Kunstgewerbemuseum in Köln, später Sammlung Horst, Karlsruhe,<sup>80</sup>
49. kleiner Teppich der Bowles Collection, Seattle, Washington,
50. kleiner Teppich der Ballard Collection, Ausstellung Indianapolis 1924, *Kat. Nr. 100*,<sup>81</sup>
51. Teppich in Grazer Privatbesitz,
52. grosser Teppich der Versteigerung Castellani 1884,<sup>82</sup>
53. grosser Teppich, von Demotte 1926 in Chicago ausgestellt,<sup>83</sup>
54. kleiner Teppich der Sammlung Minutoli im Schlossmuseum in Berlin,<sup>84</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Unveröffentlicht, 1931 aus dem Nachlass der Gräfin M.J.R.V. van Oberndorff de Stuers erworben, vermutlich identisch mit dem Teppich *Katalog Nr. 171* der Ausstellung München 1910.

<sup>71</sup> J. Breck and F. Morris, *The James F. Ballard Collection of Oriental Rugs* (New York, 1923), Nr. 18, mindestens 6 Farben, 188 zu 275 cm.

<sup>72</sup> *Versteigerungskatalog*, 1916, Nr. 868, 145 zu 190 cm.

<sup>73</sup> Erdmann, *Orientteppiche*, Abb. 35, Inv. Nr. 91, 26, sechsfarbig, 130 zu 196 cm.

<sup>74</sup> Inv. Nr. 73, 1209, mehrfarbig, 110 zu 180 cm, nur die Hälfte erhalten.

<sup>75</sup> J. Guiffrey-G. Migeon, *La Collection Kelekian* (Paris, 1910), Taf. 15, mehrfarbig.

<sup>76</sup> Unveröffentlicht, Inv. Nr. 117, mehrfarbig, 40 zu 50 cm.

<sup>77</sup> S. Troll, "Ein orientalischer Teppich aus kaiserlichem

Besitz," *Jahrb. d. kunsth. Sammlungen in Wien, Sonderheft*, XI (1937), Nr. 112.

<sup>78</sup> Valentiner, *op. cit.*, Nr. 20, 138 zu 197 cm.

<sup>79</sup> A. F. Kendrick und C.E.C. Tattersall, *Hand-woven Carpets, Oriental and European* (London, 1922), Taf. 48, sechsfarbig, 145 zu 188 cm.

<sup>80</sup> Der gegenwärtige Aufbewahrungsort dieses Stücks ist mir nicht bekannt.

<sup>81</sup> Vergl. auch A. U. Dilley, *Oriental Rugs and Carpets* (New York, 1931), Taf. XLVII.

<sup>82</sup> *Versteigerungskatalog*, Nr. 1156, 275 zu 465 cm.

<sup>83</sup> A. U. Pope, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Carpets, The Art Club of Chicago* (Chicago, 1926), Nr. 52, ohne Abbildung und Angabe der Masse.

<sup>84</sup> Inv. Nr. M 3479, vierfarbig, 180 zu 212 cm.

55. kleiner, stark beschädigter Teppich im Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Mus. Nr. 151/1900),
56. Benguiat Coll. Sale, 1925 II. No. 55 (9 ft. zu 13 ft. 6"),<sup>85</sup>
57. Benguiat Coll. Sale, 1.-3. XII. 1927 Nr. 625 (8 ft. 7" zu 7 ft. 4"),<sup>86</sup>
58. Benguiat Coll. Sale, 1.-3. XII. 1927 Nr. 627 (6 ft. 10" zu 4 ft. 6"),
59. Benguiat Coll. Sale, 3.-5. IV. 1930 Nr. 590 (8 ft. 5" zu 7 ft. 3"),<sup>87</sup>
60. Benguiat Coll. Sale, 7.-8. XI. 1930 Nr. 460 (6 ft. 4" zu 4 ft. 5"),
61. Benguiat Coll. Sale, 19.-22. XI. 1930 Nr. 730 (6 ft. 3" zu 4 ft. 10"),<sup>88</sup>
62. Benguiat Coll. Sale, 23. IV. 1932 Nr. 4. (6 ft. zu 4 ft. 5"),<sup>89</sup>
63. Benguiat Coll. Sale, 23. IV. 1932 Nr. 7 (6 ft. 2" zu 4 ft. 6"),
64. Benguiat Coll. Sale, 23. IV. 1932 Nr. 34 (9 ft. zu 8 ft. 6").

Selbstverständlich soll mit dieser Zusammenstellung keine irgendwie erschöpfende chronologische Anordnung gegeben sein. Vor allem bedeuten die Nummern innerhalb der einzelnen Gruppen nichts für die entwicklungsmässige Folge der genannten Teppiche, ja auch zwischen den skizzierten Gruppen wird unter Umständen das eine oder andere Stück ausgetauscht werden müssen. Dazu wären eingehende Untersuchungen notwendig, für die hier nicht der Platz ist. Deutlich sondern sich jedenfalls eine frühe Gruppe (Nrr. 1-17) und eine späte Gruppe (Nrr. 35-47) voneinander ab,<sup>90</sup> zwischen denen die Teppiche Nrr. 18-36 eine Verbindungsgruppe bilden, in der Nrr. 18-27 mehr zur ersten, Nrr. 28-34 mehr zur zweiten Gruppe gehören. Dabei ist allerdings vorausgesetzt, dass sich der eine Typ aus dem anderen entwickelt und zunächst ausser Acht gelassen, dass wir mit einem Weiterleben älterer Formen neben den jüngeren oder mit einem archaisierenden Zurückgreifen auf ältere Formen in späterer Zeit rechnen müssen.

Ebenso schwierig wie die relative ist auch die absolute zeitliche Einordnung dieser Mamlükenteppiche. Keins der erhaltenen Stücke ist unmittelbar datiert oder mittelbar datierbar, es sei denn man wollte das Vorkommen des Kelches auf dem Berliner Stück als einen Hinweis betrachten, dass dies Exemplar jedenfalls in rein mamlükischer Zeit entstanden sein müsse. Aber nicht einmal das ist sicher. Allerdings haben wir zwei allgemeine Daten: die Erwähnung Kairener Teppiche durch Barbaro im Jahre 1474 und die Eroberung Kairos durch die Osmanen im Jahre 1517. Ausserdem stehen eine grössere Anzahl von Wiedergaben solcher Mamlükenteppiche auf Bildern italienischer Maler zur Verfügung.<sup>91</sup> Leider ist der dokumentarische Wert dieser Darstellungen gering, da sie das an sich nicht sehr klare Muster meist nur sum-

<sup>85</sup> *The V. & L. Benguiat Collection of Rare Old Rugs*. Sale: American Art Assn., New York, Dec. 4-5, 1925.

<sup>86</sup> *Collectors' and Museums' Specimens. XVI-XIX Century Rugs. The possession of Messrs. V. & L. Benguiat, Paris and Florence*. Sale: American Art Assn., New York, Dec. 1-3, 1927.

<sup>87</sup> *The V. & L. Benguiat Collection*. Sale: Anderson Galleries, New York, April 3-5, 1930.

<sup>88</sup> *The V. & L. Benguiat Collection*. Sale: Anderson Galleries, New York, Nov. 19-22, 1930.

<sup>89</sup> *Rare Ancient Rugs. The V. & L. Benguiat Collection*. Sale: American Art Assn., New York, April 23, 1932.

<sup>90</sup> Von geringfügigen Abweichungen abgesehen stimmt diese Gruppierung mit der von Troll gegebenen Einteilung überein.

<sup>91</sup> Vergl. K. Erdmann, "Kairener Teppiche," *Ars Islamica*, V (1938), 182-84.



marisch wiedergeben und uns ja auch nicht mehr liefern können, als einen terminus ante quem. Wenn z.B. auf einem der Genrebilder Pietro Longhis<sup>92</sup> ein solcher Teppich dargestellt ist, so ist das für die Frage der Datierung wertlos, wenn es auch bemerkt zu werden verdient, dass Teppiche dieser Art gelegentlich sogar noch im 18. Jahrhundert verwendet und beachtet wurden. Ebenso könnte es sich bei den Teppichen mit anscheinend verhältnismässig früher Musterung auf den Bildern Tintoretto's<sup>93</sup> und Bassano's<sup>94</sup> um ältere Stücke aus dem Besitz der Signoria oder der Familie Corradini handeln. Jedenfalls zeigen frühere Beispiele wie Lorenzo Lottos um 1522 entstandenes "Bildnis des päpstlichen Protonotars Giuliano" in London (*Abb. 8*),<sup>95</sup> das Herrenbildnis des F. Beccaruzzi in den Uffizien<sup>96</sup> und Lottos "Verherrlichung des heiligen Antonius" von 1542 in San Giovanni e Paolo zu Venedig<sup>97</sup> schon deutlich radiale Streumuster, bei denen auch Kandelabermotive und kleine Zypressen vorkommen, wie sie für die Teppiche der um das Florentiner Stück angeordneten Gruppe typisch sind. Gelegentlich scheinen sie die erstarrte Form anzunehmen, die für die spätere Gruppe mit kleinen koordinierten Quadraten (*Abb. 22*) bezeichnend ist. Eine sichere Darstellung eines Teppichs dieser Art findet sich auf der "Beschneidung Christi" des Marco d'Angeli detto il Moro in Venedig (*Abb. 23*), die in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts entstanden ist.<sup>98</sup> Die besten Darstellungen solcher Mamlükenteppiche, die sich auf den in das zweite Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts datierten Fresken Morettos im Palazzo Salvadego in Brescia finden (*Abb. 9*),<sup>99</sup> zeigen, soweit sie ein so genaues Urteil erlauben, anscheinend Teppiche verschiedener Stilstufen, so dass man vermuten könnte, dass es sich auch hier um Stücke aus dem Besitz der Familie handelt, die nicht alle erst kürzlich erworben waren. Diesen späteren Darstellungen gegenüber sind die frühen bei Marziale,<sup>100</sup> Bellini,<sup>101</sup> und Carpaccio<sup>102</sup> zu undeutlich, um mehr zu beweisen, als dass damals Teppiche dieser Gruppe in Italien bekannt waren.

Die Daten, die sich aus diesen bildlichen Wiedergaben ableiten lassen, sind also:

1. Vor 1499 müssen Mamlükenteppiche in Italien bekannt gewesen sein.
2. Vor 1522 nimmt die Füllung in den einzelnen Quadraten dieser Teppiche den Charakter radial gestellter Streumuster an, Kandelabermotive und kleine Zypressen erscheinen.
3. Vor 1542 treten in dieser Streumusterung die kleinen Zypressen stärker in den Vordergrund.
4. Vor der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, vielleicht bereits vor 1542, sind Teppiche mit kleinteiliger, koordinierender Quadrierung (Typ *Abb. 22*) bekannt.

<sup>92</sup> Im Herbst 1938 sah ich ein Bild dieses Meisters, das ein Mädchen bei der Toilette darstellte, in der Ausstellung der Malerei der Settecento in Venedig, leider ohne nähere Notizen machen zu können. In der Literatur habe ich keine Abbildung finden können. Der Teppich ist ein Stück des Typs Abbildung 22.

<sup>93</sup> *Ars Islamica*, V (1938), 184, Nrr. 18–19.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 184, Nr. 23.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 183, Nr. 5.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 183, Nr. 7.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 183, Nr. 9.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 184, Nr. 17.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 183, Nrr. 10–15.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 182, Nr. 1.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 183, Nr. 2.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 183, Nrr. 3 und 4.

5. Noch am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts aber werden grössere und kleine Teppiche der früheren Typen verwendet.

Auf die Zusammenstellung der erhaltenen Stücke bezogen ergäbe sich daraus, dass die erste Gruppe der Mamlükenteppiche, die sich um das Berliner Stück anordnen lässt, im Wesentlichen in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts entstanden ist, während die andere Gruppe, die sich um das Florentiner Fragment gruppieren lässt, in den Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts gehört. Ob und wie weit das zutrifft, lässt sich erst nach der Untersuchung der weiteren Entwicklung dieser Teppiche beurteilen.

Die Verbindung dieser hier als Mamlükenteppiche bestimmten Gruppe mit einer anderen, in ihrer äusseren Erscheinung recht verschiedenen Gattung ist seit Jahrzehnten erkannt. Wenn es auch falsch ist, die Musterung der Mamlükenteppiche als geometrisch zu bezeichnen (geometrisch ist nur ihre Gliederung, die füllenden Formen dagegen sind meist vegetabil) so wirken sie doch so, wenn man sie mit dieser anderen Gruppe vergleicht, deren Muster die typischen naturnahen Pflanzenformen der osmanischen Flora zeigen, wie sie sich am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts in der Türkei aus der naturferneren Flora Persiens entwickelt haben. Dieser Vorgang, der sich vor allem in der Keramik von Isnik verfolgen lässt, führt zu einem so klar umrissenen Formenkreis, dass an dem türkischen Charakter dieser zweiten Gruppe niemals Zweifel entstehen konnten, ja dass es nahelag, sie als Erzeugnisse einer osmanischen Hofmanufaktur anzusehen. Ihrem Musteraufbau nach bevorzugen diese Teppiche das wohl aus Persien entlehnte Medaillonmuster, doch bleiben die meist kreisförmigen Medaillons klein im Verhältnis zum Innenfeld. Wenn Eckzwickel gegeben sind, zeigen sie die korrekte Form eines Viertelmedaillons. Ovale Medaillon- und Zwickelbildung ist seltener. Den Grund füllen lebendige Zusammenstellungen von Palmettenblüten und Lanzettblättern in flüssiger Zeichnung, die anfangs rautenförmig angeordnet werden, später, wohl wieder unter persischer Anregung, mit seitensymmetrisch geführten Spiralranken verbunden werden. Naturalistische Blüten wie Tulpen, Nelken oder Hyazinthen kommen zunächst nur in den Borten vor. Gelegentlich wird die einfache Medaillonmusterung zur Medaillonmosaikmusterung erweitert, d.h. das Innenfeld wird durch kreisförmige oder kartuschenförmige Medaillons in versetzten Reihen gegliedert. Die Spätphase ist nach der Einführung naturalistischer Blüten auch in die Feldmusterung durch barocke Häufung und starke Bewegung der Motive gekennzeichnet. Dass man trotz dieser grundsätzlichen Verschiedenheit in der Anlage der Muster wie in der Auswahl der verwendeten Einzelformen diese Teppiche mit den Mamlükenteppichen in eine enge Verbindung brachte, hat seinen Grund in ihrer weitgehenden technischen Übereinstimmung. War es dabei bisher in erster Linie der verwandte Charakter der Wolle und die Ähnlichkeit der Farbgebung, so hat S. Troll kürzlich den Vergleich für alle anderen Gebiete der Technik durchgeführt und ist auch für sie zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, dass die Teppiche dieser beiden Gruppen eng zusammengehören.<sup>103</sup>

So eindeutig die Feststellung dieser Verbindung ist, so schwierig scheint ihre Erklärung.

<sup>103</sup> Troll, *op. cit.*, S. 216.



Allgemein wird angenommen, dass die so typisch osmanische, blumige Gruppe in Kleinasien entstanden sein müsse, wenn es auch bisher nicht gelungen ist, den Sitz dieser Manufaktur näher zu bestimmen. Ihre Beziehungen zur ersten Gruppe versuchte man in den letzten Jahren dahin zu erklären, dass diese osmanische Manufaktur im Anschluss an die mamlükische Manufaktur in Ägypten entstanden sei, eine Annahme, die in der Urkunde vom Jahre 1585, in der Sultan Murād III. elf Teppichmeister aus Kairo nach Istanbul beordert, scheinbar eine gute Stütze fand.<sup>104</sup> Es lag dabei nahe, die Bedeutung dieser Urkunde zu überschätzen und in ihr gewissermassen die Gründungsakte der osmanischen Hofmanufaktur zu sehen, obwohl eine einfache stilistische Überlegung hätte sagen müssen, dass es nicht möglich ist, die früheren Stücke dieser osmanischen Teppiche erst in das Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts zu datieren. Troll geht nun weiter. Nach seinen technischen Untersuchungen sind die Übereinstimmungen so eng, dass die Annahme einer solchen Beeinflussung durch abkommandierte Teppichmeister nicht ausreicht. Die beiden Gruppen müssen seiner Meinung nach am gleichen Ort gefertigt sein. Es ist daher nur konsequent, wenn er, da er an der kleinasiatischen Entstehung der osmanischen Gruppe festhält, sich entschliesst, die ägyptische Provenienz der hier als Mamlükenteppiche bezeichneten Gruppe abzulehnen und auch für sie eine Entstehung in Kleinasien und zwar am gleichen Ort wie die osmanische Gruppe anzunehmen.<sup>105</sup> Wie dann allerdings die Kairener Teppiche ausgesehen haben, die nach den Aussagen der Quellen vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert im Abendland wie im Morgenland eine so bedeutende Rolle gespielt haben, lässt er ebenso offen wie die Frage, wo im 15. Jahrhundert im kleinasiatischen Bereich, dessen Teppichproduktion uns ja hinreichend bekannt ist, eine Gruppe wie die der Mamlükenteppiche hätte entstehen können.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit macht er auf einen Mamlükenteppich im Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien aufmerksam, der in den Ecken des Mittelfeldes Viertelmedaillons in reinem osmanischen Stil zeigt, und betont mit Recht, dass dieser "Mischstil," wie er ihn zutreffend nennt, wichtige Aufklärungen über das Verhältnis der beiden Gruppen zu einander zu geben versprache.<sup>106</sup> Erfreulicherweise sind mehrere Beispiele dieser Art vorhanden. Sie geben uns das Material, die zweite der eingangs gestellten beiden Fragen zu beantworten, die Frage: Welche Anhaltspunkte bietet das vorhandene Material für die Annahme, dass die blumig gemusterte Gruppe sich am gleichen Ort, in engem Werkstattzusammenhang und in langsamem Übergang aus der "geometrisch" gemusterten entwickelt hat?

Als erstes Beispiel sei das eben erwähnte, von Troll veröffentlichte Wiener Stück genannt (*Abb. 12*). Es ist ein durchaus normal gezeichneter Mamlükenteppich, der, wie auch Troll betont, anscheinend keineswegs zu den späten Stücken der Gattung gehört. Das Schirmblatt dominiert in allen Teilen des Feldes und die Füllungen der kleinen Achtecke haben noch nirgends den Charakter von Streumustern angenommen. Auch die Farbgebung zeigt die Beschränkung auf Rot, Hellblau und Grün, die für die frühen Stücke typisch ist. Umso überraschender wir-

<sup>104</sup> *Ars Islamica*, V, S. 187, Nr. 5.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 222–27.

<sup>105</sup> Troll, *op. cit.*, S. 220.

ken die kleinen Viertelmedaillons in den Ecken des Feldes mit ihrer geschwungenen Kontur und den von einer Viertelrosette ausstrahlenden naturalistischen Blüten. Sie würden als störende Fremdkörper wirken, wenn sie nicht im Verhältnis zum Feld so klein wären, dass man sie kaum bemerkt. So machen sie mehr den Eindruck eines spielerischen Zusatzes, der für den Gesamteindruck des Teppichs ohne Bedeutung ist. Interessant ist, dass in diesen Eckstücken auch die strenge Farbbeschränkung insofern durchbrochen wird, als hier als weitere Töne Braungelb und Sandgelb<sup>107</sup> verwendet werden. Die Zeichnung der Blüten ist flüchtig. Troll meint, sie zeige "Merkmale des Abgesunkenseins". In Wirklichkeit dürfte sich ihre geringe Qualität wohl eher daraus erklären, dass dem Knüpfer die Wiedergabe dieser ihm ungewohnten naturnahen Formen Schwierigkeiten bereitete.

Etwas Ähnliches findet sich bei einem bisher unveröffentlichten Teppich im Besitz der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin (Abb. 10 und 11). Auch hier handelt es sich um ein Stück, das man seiner Musterung nach, die sogar noch etwas strenger erscheint als die des Wiener Teppichs, früh ansetzen würde. Wie dieser ist es in drei Farben gehalten, nur in den zweiten Begleitstreifen der Borte tritt als vierte Farbe Gelb hinzu. Diese zusätzlichen Begleitstreifen zeigen dabei ein Motiv, das aus dem strengen Kanon der übrigen Musterung herausfällt, und, wenn auch weniger stark als die Eckmedaillons des Wiener Teppichs, als Fremdkörper wirkt. Während die beiden anderen Begleitstreifen die für die Mamlükenteppiche so typische in Schirmblätter intermittierende Ranke zeigen, sind hier drei Kugeln im Wechsel mit schräg gestellten, geschwungenen Streifen als Füllung verwendet, ein Motiv also, das aus der osmanischen Kunst und von vielen Teppichen der blumigen Gruppe bekannt ist.<sup>108</sup> Auf Mamlükenteppichen kommt es, in abgewandelter Form, nur noch in den Seitenstreifen des späten Fragmentes der Ballard-Collection vor.<sup>109</sup>

Ein drittes Beispiel, das vielleicht noch aufschlussreicher wäre, ist leider nur durch eine Notiz bekannt.<sup>110</sup> Es war ein Fragment, das Kelekian 1910 auf die Münchener Ausstellung schickte. Seine Musterung enthielt drei Quadrate, von denen das mittlere die typischen türki-

<sup>107</sup> Neben Braungelb nennt Troll Sandgelb, worunter vielleicht die schmutzig graue Farbe zu verstehen ist, die man gemeinhin in diesen Teppichen als Weiss bezeichnet.

<sup>108</sup> Vergl. die Rahmenleisten der Begleitstreifen eines Medaillonteppichs osmanischen Typs in der Ballard Collection (Abb. Breck-Morris, *op. cit.*, Nr. 21). Ähnliche Streifen kommen bei den Teppichen mit einem Muster gereihter Kartuschen vor, z.B. bei dem Stück im Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien (Abb. Sarre-Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, I, Tafel 58), einem Fragment im Besitz der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (J. Lessing, *Orientalische Teppiche, Vorbilderhefte aus dem Kgl. Kunstgewerbe-Museum*, Hft. 13 [Berlin, 1891], Taf. 10) und bei einem Teppich, der 1933 im Besitz der Fabrica de Tapices y Alfombras Livino Struyck in Madrid

war. Eine ähnliche Zusammenstellung kommt als Muster des Feldes bei den kleinen Medaillonteppichen in Berlin, London, Budapest und Paris vor. (K. Erdmann, "Neuerwerbung der Islamischen Abteilung." *Berliner Museen*, LVIII [1937], 36-37). Eine Kopie eines solchen Teppichs, die am 23./4. Mai 1927 mit der Sammlung Haenert bei Hecht in Berlin versteigert wurde (*Kat.* Nr. 104), zeigte an der Stelle der einzelnen drei in Dreiecksform angeordnete Kugeln. Dass Teppiche dieses reicheren Typs existierten, beweist ein Fragment im Völkerkundemuseum in München (Inv. Nr. 32-50-19).

<sup>109</sup> Breck-Morris, *op. cit.*, Nr. 18.

<sup>110</sup> Riefstahl, "Das Palmenmotiv auf einem ägyptischen Teppich der Ballard-Sammlung," S. 162, s.a. Troll, *op. cit.*, S. 222, Anm. 44.



schen Blumen Nelke, Tulpe, Hyazinthe zeigte, während die beiden äusseren Felder im Sinne der "geometrischen Damaskusteppiche" dekoriert waren.

In allen drei Fällen handelt es sich also darum, dass in die Musterung von Mamlükenteppichen Formen des osmanischen Kunstkreises d.h. Formen der blumigen Gruppe aufgenommen werden. Auch das Umgekehrte ist gelegentlich der Fall.

Der in Abbildung 13 wiedergegebene Teppich, der sich vor einer Reihe von Jahren im italienischen Kunsthandel befand, ist zweifellos ein vollentwickeltes typisches Beispiel der blumigen Gruppe. Das Zentrum seines Mittelmedaillons nimmt aber ein achtstrahliger Stern ein, der mit seiner Füllung aus radialen Schirmblättern unmittelbar einem Mamlükenteppich entnommen sein könnte. Dieselbe Form in etwas einfacherer Anlage verwendet das Mittelmedaillon eines kleinen Teppichs, der 1932 mit der Sammlung de Stuers versteigert wurde.<sup>111</sup> Auch auf anderen Teppichen dieser Art zeigen Mittelmedaillon oder Eckzwickel häufig eine Neigung zu geometrischen Formen, die in Widerspruch steht zu ihrer sonstigen rein vegetabilen Musterung und wohl über die genannten Beispiele hinweg auf ein Nachleben von Motiven der Mamlükenteppiche weist.<sup>112</sup>

Ein interessantes Beispiel dieses "Mischstils" bietet ein auch sonst bemerkenswertes Stück im Museo Civico in San Gimignano (*Abb. 14*), das, obwohl es bereits vor dreissig Jahren veröffentlicht wurde,<sup>113</sup> der Teppichforschung bisher entgangen zu sein scheint. Dieser Teppich ist in der Form eines gleicharmigen Kreuzes gearbeitet. Das quadratische Mittelstück trägt eine Medaillongliederung mit Viertelmedaillons in den Ecken und Blütenmusterung des Grundes, wie wir sie von zahlreichen Teppichen der blumigen Gruppe kennen.<sup>114</sup> An den vier Seiten sind rechteckige Teile angebracht, die wie Ausschnitte aus besonders gemusterten, kleineren Teppichen wirken. Ihr Innenfeld zeigt Reihen von kleinen Sternen, an denen gestielte Schirmblätter angebracht sind, also eine Musterung, die ganz aus dem Motivkreis der Mamlükenteppiche stammt. In dieselbe Richtung weist auch die fortlaufende Ranke in den Begleitstreifen der Borte, die in dieser Form von späteren Mamlükenteppichen bekannt ist.<sup>115</sup> Das Muster des Hauptstreifens dagegen zeigt osmanisches Blatt- und Blütenwerk in reichster Ausbildung und trägt in der Mitte jeder Seite ein europäisches Wappen. Der Teppich ist übrigens nicht, wie man zunächst vermuten möchte, aus mehreren Stücken zusammengesetzt, sondern in dieser eigentümlichen Form als Ganzes gearbeitet, wie die Reste der Kettfäden oben und unten an den Querarmen und an der Schmalseite des unteren Armes beweisen.

<sup>111</sup> *Versteigerungskatalog*, Mensing, 1932, Nr. 451.

<sup>112</sup> z.B. bei dem Teppich Inv. Nr. 10 in der Islamischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin (Erdmann, *Orientteppiche*, Abb. 37), einem unveröffentlichten Teppich (Inv. Nr. 83,564) daselbst und bei dem Teppich im Museo Civico in San Gimignano (*Abb. 14*).

<sup>113</sup> Romualdo Pantini, *San Gimignano* (Bergamo, 1908), Abb. auf S. 87, ohne Erwähnung im Text.

<sup>114</sup> z.B. bei einem Teppich im Museum für Kunst und

Industrie in Wien (Troll, *op. cit.*, Fig. 4), einem Teppich ehemals in der Sammlung Dirksen (W. Bode-E. Kühnel, *Vorderasiatische Knüppteppiche aus älterer Zeit* [Berlin, 1922], Abb. 91), dem unveröffentlichten Teppich Inv. Nr. 83,564 im Besitz der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin und anderen Stücken.

<sup>115</sup> Vergl. die Begleitstreifen des Teppichs in Florenz (*Abb. 4*) und den inneren Vorschlagstreifen des Teppichs *Abb. 16*.

Im Victoria and Albert Museum in London befindet sich ein späterer Teppich der gleichen Form (*Abb. 15*),<sup>116</sup> bei dem die besser erhaltenen Fransen deutlicher beweisen, dass diese Stücke in einem Rahmen in der Form hergestellt wurden, dass oben und unten die Kette seitlich frei gelassen und später weggeschnitten wurde. Offenbar waren sie als Decken auf quadratischen Tischen gedacht.<sup>117</sup> Bei einer solchen Verwendung sind die einzelnen Teile nur getrennt zu sehen, das Mittelstück als Bedeckung der Platte, die Kreuzarme seitlich herunterhängend, so dass die Uneinheitlichkeit der Komposition, die bei einer Abbildung, wie sie hier gegeben ist, so störend wirkt, nicht ins Gewicht fällt.

Ebenfalls als Tischdecke ist der runde Teppich in der Corcoran Gallery in Washington, den Troll abbildet, gedacht.<sup>118</sup> Auch bei diesem Stück liegt eine Mischung verschiedener Formen vor. Während das Innenfeld rein osmanisches Blumenwerk zeigt, bringt die Borte in allerdings recht entstellter Form den bei den Mamlükenteppichen geläufigen Wechsel von Kartuschen und Achtpässen. Die Füllungen der Achtpässe sind noch verhältnismässig sauber gezeichnet, die der Kartuschen zerfallen und sind nur noch in der Gruppierung der einzelnen Formen zu erkennen.<sup>119</sup>

Während die bisher angeführten Beispiele nur zeigten, wie die Formen der beiden Gruppen gelegentlich miteinander vermischt werden, gibt es unter dem erhaltenen Material eine kleine Gruppe von Teppichen, bei der man den Ablauf der Entwicklung einigermaßen übersehen kann, wobei es am Schluss offen bleibt, ob man das Ergebnis dieser Entwicklung als Spätling der Mamlükenteppiche oder als Sonderling der Osmanenteppiche bezeichnen will.

Bei den reiferen Mamlükenteppichen findet sich nicht selten eine Füllung aus freien Ranken, an denen neben den lanzettförmigen Arabesksblättern, wie sie zunächst in den Konturstreifen des mittleren Achtecks vorkommen, Schirmblätter und Blätter von der Form einer Pfeilspitze sitzen.<sup>120</sup> Bei einem der beiden, angeblich aus der Schottenkirche in Regensburg stammenden Teppichen, die sich ehemals in der Sammlung Georg Hirth befanden (*Abb. 16*),<sup>121</sup> ist ein solches Rankenwerk von noch relativ freier Anordnung in dem breiten Streifen angebracht, der die mittlere Komposition umgibt. An derselben Stelle zeigt es ein zweifellos späteres Fragment in Berlin (*Abb. 17*),<sup>122</sup> nur ist es hier zu einer regelmässigen Rautenmusterung geworden, bei der die einzelnen Rauten aus den Lanzett-Arabesksblättern gebildet und mit je vier Palmettblüten gefüllt werden, die sich nach innen gerichtet um ein kleines Oktogon gruppieren. Ein ähnliche aus den gleichen lanzettförmigen Arabesksblättern gebildete Rautung

<sup>116</sup> V. & A. Mus. Nr. 151-1883. Der Leitung des Department of Textiles bin ich für die Erlaubnis, dieses und das Stück Nr. 458-1884 zu veröffentlichen, und für freundliche Hilfe dankbar.

<sup>117</sup> In den Quellen werden als Tischdecken bestimmte Teppiche verschiedentlich erwähnt. Vergl. *Ars Islamica*, V (1938), S. 186, Nr. 4; S. 189, Nr. 7; S. 197, Nr. 23.

<sup>118</sup> Troll, *op. cit.*, Nr. 10.

<sup>119</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang wäre auch auf die Borte

eines späteren osmanischen Teppichs in London hinzuweisen. Vergl. *Guide to the Collection of Carpets* Victoria and Albert Museum. Department of Textiles (London, 1931), Taf. XVIII.

<sup>120</sup> z.B. in den Eckquadraten des Florentiner Stücks (*Abb. 4*).

<sup>121</sup> Vergl. Nr. 40 der Liste S. 67.

<sup>122</sup> Troll, *op. cit.*, Fig. 7.



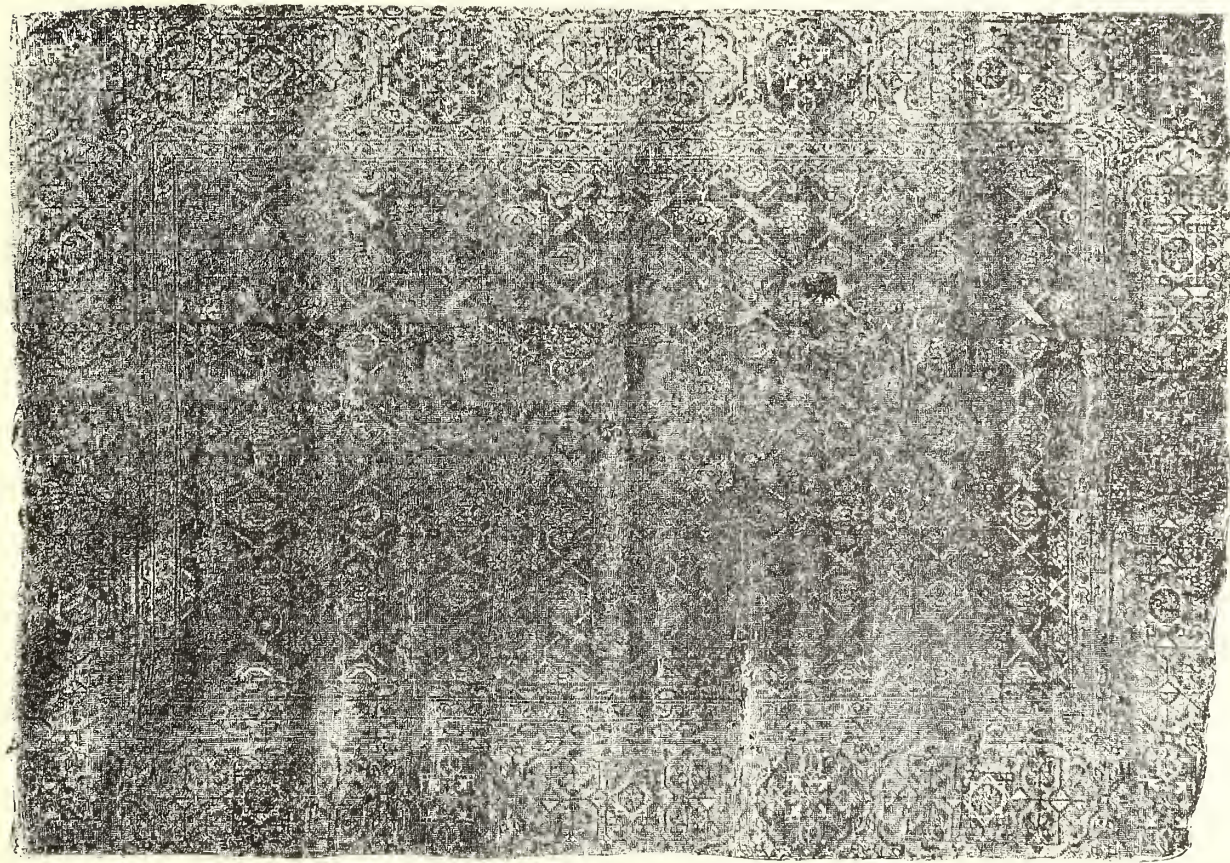


Abb. 18—Zwischenform zwischen einem Mamlüken- und Osmanenteppich  
BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

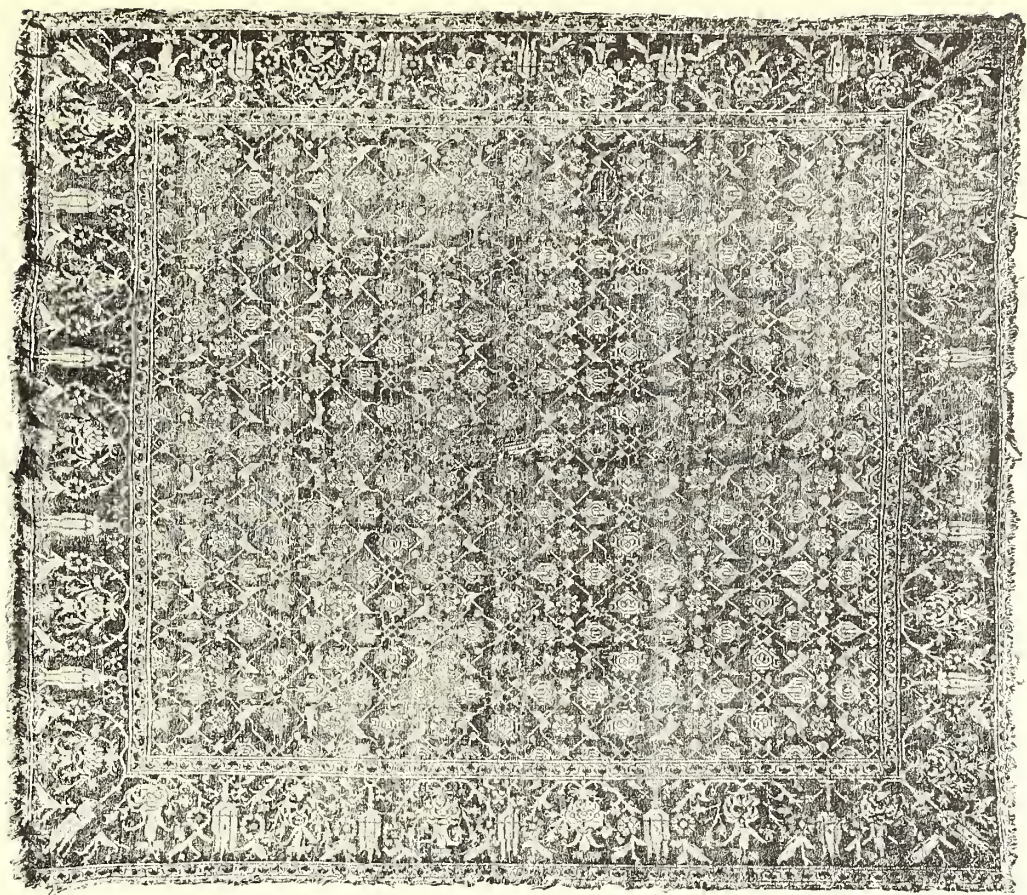


Abb. 19—Zwischenform zwischen einem Mamlüken- und Osmanenteppich  
MÜNCHEN, BAYERISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM





ABB. 20—OSMANENTEPPICH IN DEN FARBEN EINES MAMLÜKENTEPPICHS  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



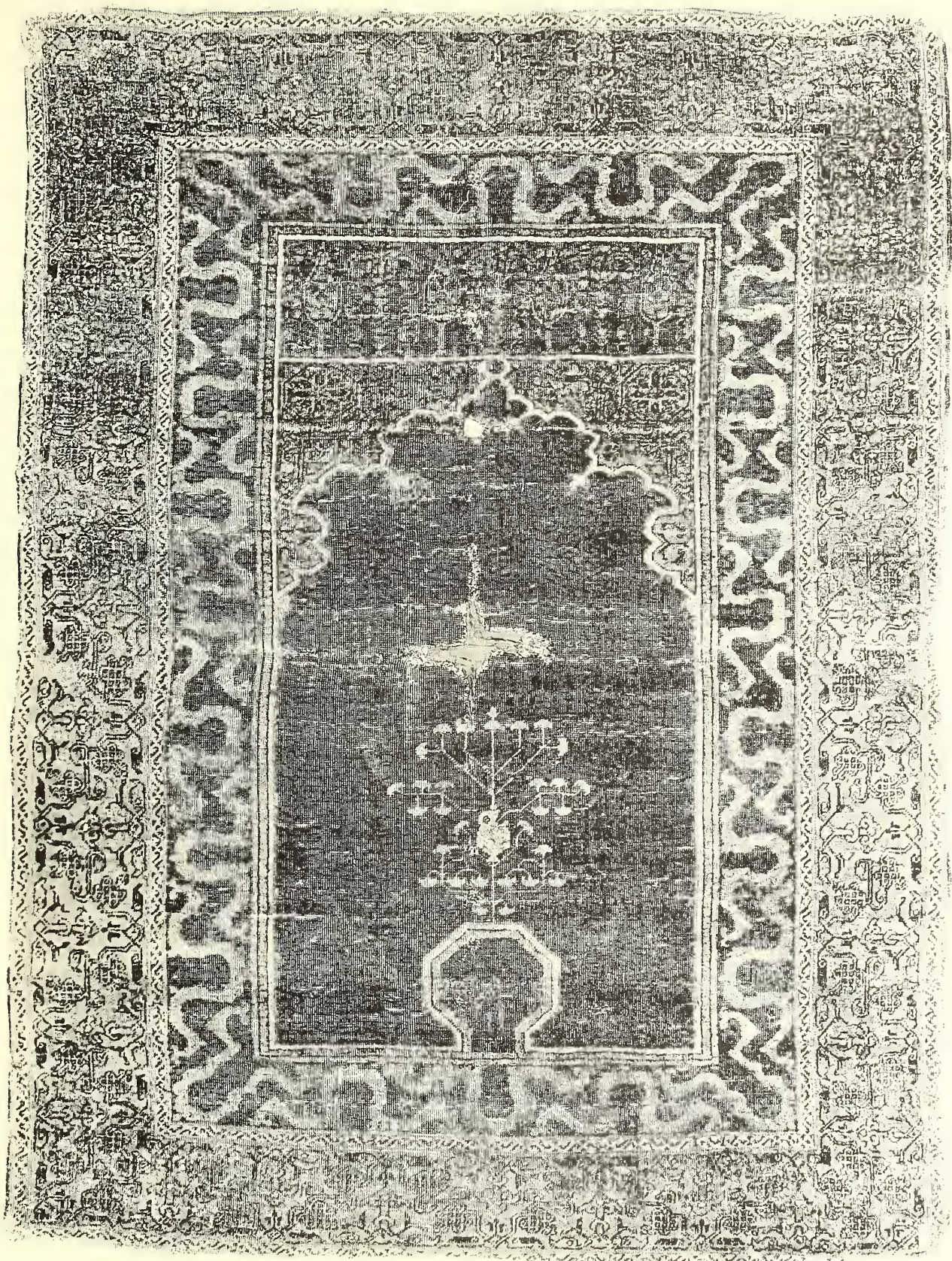


ABB. 21—GEBETSTEPPICH MIT MAMLÜKISCHEN UND OSMANISCHEN FORMEN  
BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



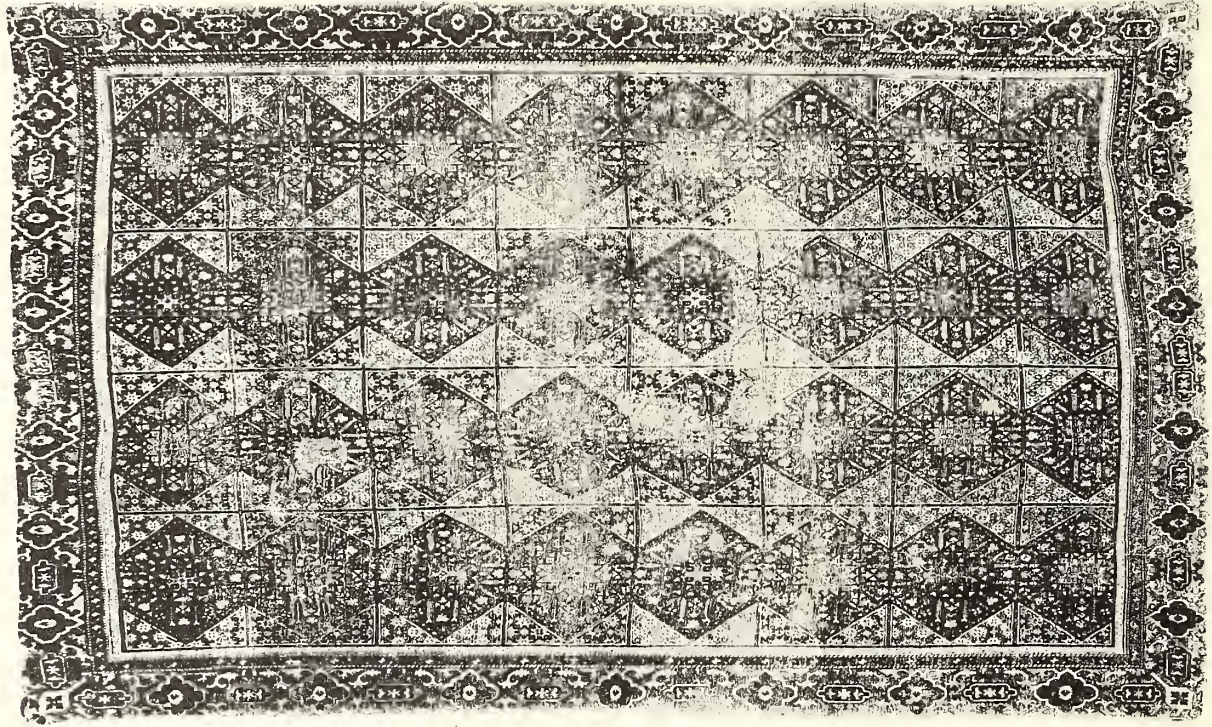


ABB. 22—AUSLÄUFER DER MAMLÜKENTEPPICHE. KAIRO, 16.-17. JAHRHUNDERT  
FLORENZ, MUSEO BARDINI



ABB. 23—DARSTELLUNG EINES TEPPICHS DES TYPUS ABB. 22  
VON MARCO D'ANGELI DETTO IL MORO. VENEDIG, ACCADEMIA



zeigt ein bisher unbeachteter Teppich im Besitz der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (*Abb. 18*), doch wechseln hier als Füllung der Rauten Rosetten- und Palmettenblüten von bereits deutlich osmanischer Zeichnung. Demgegenüber ist die Borte rein mamlükisch im Stil. Dieselbe Musterung bringt ein ebenfalls unveröffentlichter Teppich im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum in München (*Abb. 19*). Der Grund seines Innenfeldes ist weinrot, die die Rauten bildenden Ranken mit Lanzettblättern, die in ihrer freieren Zeichnung bereits deutlichen Arabeskencharakter annehmen, sind hellblau und gelb, die Rosetten- und Palmettenblüten osmanischer Prägung, die einzeln die Rauten füllen, grün mit gelber Innenzeichnung. Soweit stimmt der Teppich abgesehen von seiner lebendigeren Zeichnung mit dem vorhergenannten Berliner Teppich überein. Seine Borte dagegen ist rein osmanisch und zeigt ein bei typischen Teppichen der blumigen Gruppe beliebtes Schema.<sup>123</sup> In eigenartigem Widerspruch dazu zeigen die Begleistreifen die in Schirmblättern intermittierende Ranke der reinen Mamlükenteppiche. Der Übergang von den Mamlükenteppichen zu den Osmanenteppichen hat sich hier so unmerklich vollzogen, dass man vor dem letzten Stück dieser Reihe im Zweifel ist, welcher Gruppe man es zuweisen soll.

Dasselbe liegt übrigens bei einem wenig beachteten Teppich des Victoria and Albert Museums in London vor (*Abb. 20*).<sup>124</sup> Das Stück ist in reinstem osmanischen Stil gezeichnet. Nichts erinnert in seiner Musterung mehr an die Formenwelt der Mamlükenteppiche<sup>125</sup> und doch glaubt man angesichts des Originals vor einem Mamlükenteppich zu stehen, so genau ist die Farbstimmung der frühen Teppiche dieser Gruppe getroffen. Dasselbe Weinrot, dasselbe warme Grün und helle Blau, keine weitere Nuance, sogar das Gelb der späteren Stücke, das diese farblich bereits einen Schritt den Osmanenteppichen annähert, fehlt. Ein merkwürdiges Experiment, die besondere Farbstimmung der frühen Mamlükenteppiche auf ein rein osmanisch gemustertes Stück zu übertragen.

Ein buntes Durcheinander verschiedener Formen bietet endlich ein unveröffentlichter Gebetsteppich im Besitz der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (*Abb. 21*),<sup>126</sup> bei dem man ebenfalls zweifeln könnte, welcher Gruppe man ihn zuweisen soll. Die rotgrundige Nische trägt als Füllmotiv eine kleine gelbe Kanne in einer Staude aus Schirmblättern. Die Füllung der hell-

<sup>123</sup> z.B. bei einem Teppich in der Sammlung des Baron Tucher (Martin-Sarre, *op. cit.*, Taf. 76), einem Teppich der 1902 mit der Sammlung Guidi da Faenza versteigert wurde (*Versteigerungskatalog*, Nr. 256, Taf. 25) und einem Teppich in der Sammlung de Stuers (*Versteigerungskatalog*, Mensing, 1932, Nr. 447).

<sup>124</sup> V. und A. Mus. 458-1884. Das Stück wird im *Guide to the Collection of Carpets*, erwähnt, aber nicht abgebildet (ed. 1920, S. 30; ed. 1931, S. 24).

<sup>125</sup> Abgesehen von den gereihten Rosetten der Begleistreifen, die sowohl bei Mamlüken- wie bei Osmanenteppichen vorkommen.

<sup>126</sup> Inv. Nr. 88.30, 120 zu 162 cm. An die Füllung der Kartuschen in der Borte der Mamlükenteppiche erinnert auch der obere Querstreifen eines Gebetsteppichs in der Ballard Collection (Breck-Morris, *op. cit.*, Nr. 34), der vermutlich identisch ist mit einem Stück, das als Nr. 1909 am 5.-7. VI. 1907 mit der Sammlung Chappey in Paris versteigert wurde. Ein fast gleicher Teppich war in der Sammlung Henry-René d'Allemagne (*Du Khorassan au pays des Backhtiaris* [Paris, 1911], I, Taf. gegenüber S. 148). Zwei weitere Exemplare im Musée van Stolk (*Kat.* [Harlem, 1912], Nrr. 1003/4). Kairener Gebetsteppiche werden in den Quellen verschiedentlich erwähnt.

blauen Eckzwickel könnte ebenso wie der rote Querstreifen oben mit seinen gereihten Zypressen und Palmen ohne Veränderung einem Mamlükenteppich entnommen sein. Um dies Innenfeld ist ein breiter roter Streifen gelegt, dessen gegenständige gelbe Wolkenbänder weder mamlükisch noch osmanisch sind.<sup>127</sup> Der Hauptstreifen der Borte zeigt auf grünem Grund eine Ranke mit Flechtwerkknoten auf den Schrägen und gegenständigen Blüten, die in genau der gleichen Form auf dem grossen Mamlükenteppich der Galleria Simonetti vorkommt,<sup>128</sup> während die liegenden Doppelspiralen der Begleitstreifen dagegen mehr in osmanische Richtung weisen.<sup>129</sup>

Die Zahl dieser Teppiche, die gewissermassen einen Übergang von der einen Gruppe zur anderen bilden oder zwischen beiden eine Mittelstellung einnehmen, liesse sich zweifellos noch erweitern. Aber auch dies mehr zufällig zusammengestellte Material reicht aus, um einige wertvolle Schlüsse zu ziehen.

In erster Linie beweist es, dass die bisherige Erklärung des Zusammenhanges zwischen Mamlüken- und Osmanenteppichen auch in stilkritischer Hinsicht unzureichend ist. Einflüsse, die durch abkommandierte Teppichmeister ausgeübt waren, würden allenfalls das Vorkommen einzelner mamlükischer Formen in den Osmanenteppichen erklären, sie versagen aber bei dem umgekehrten Auftreten osmanischer Formen in Mamlükenteppichen. Bei einer solchen Übertragung leitender Arbeitskräfte an einen weit entfernten Ort, wo sie nach neuen, ihnen fremden Vorlagen arbeiten müssten, ist es allenfalls denkbar, dass einzelne Gewohnheiten der alten Werkstatt hinübergerettet, einzelne Motive des alten Formenschatzes bewahrt werden, aber es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, dass sich dabei noch Übergangserscheinungen herausbilden, und es ist unmöglich, dass dabei, gewissermassen rückläufig, Entwicklungen nachgeholt werden, die in langsamem Vorschreiten von einem Typ zum anderen führen. Ausserdem dürfte man mit einem Nachleben der mitgebrachten Formen nur bei den ersten Erzeugnissen der neuen Manufaktur rechnen, nicht aber bei Arbeiten, die offenbar bereits einer reifen Entwicklungsstufe angehören wie etwa der Teppich in San Gimignano (*Abb. 14*). Wer das vorliegende Material solcher Übergangserscheinungen unvoreingenommen betrachtet, kann nicht zweifeln, dass die Berührungsflächen der beiden Gruppen viel zu breit sind, um sich in einer linearen Ableitung der einen Form aus der anderen auf diesem oder jenem Wege erklären zu lassen. Mamlükenteppiche und Osmanenteppiche haben offenbar geraume Zeit nebeneinander existiert, gleichberechtigt, einander beeinflussend, nehmend und gebend miteinander verbunden, bis im Laufe einer Entwicklung, die gewiss Jahrzehnte umfasste, der eine Typ sich endgültig durchsetzte.

<sup>127</sup> Sie kommen dagegen, wahrscheinlich unter persischem, über 'Ushāk vermittelten Einfluss bei anatolischen Teppichen des 17. Jahrhunderts als beliebtes Bortenmotiv vor.

<sup>128</sup> Vergl. Nr. 37 der Liste S. 66. Dazu Troll, *op. cit.*, S. 231, Fig. 4.

<sup>129</sup> z.B. die Rahmenleisten der Begleitstreifen des bei

Sarre-Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 57 abgebildeten Teppichs im Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien. Dasselbe Muster an der gleichen Stelle auf einem Teppich im Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris (*Abb. F. Sarre Altorientalische Teppiche* [Leipzig, 1908], Taf. XXV, Nr. 28).



In diesen Fragen kommt technischen Untersuchungen zweifellos die grösste Beweiskraft zu. Gleichheit des Materials, vor allem Gleichheit der für die Knüpfung verwendeten Wolle und der bei der Einfärbung derselben erzielten Farbtöne sind so eng an den Boden gebunden, dass sie mit Sicherheit für Gleichheit des Entstehungsortes sprechen. Dies Ergebnis der Troll'schen Untersuchungen wird vom stilistischen Befund nur bestätigt. Auch ihrer Musterrung nach sind Mamlüken- und Osmanenteppiche Erzeugnisse derselben Manufakturen.

Wichtig sind auch die Folgerungen, die sich aus diesen Übergangstypen für die chronologische Anordnung der eigentlichen Mamlükenteppiche ergeben. Die These von der Entstehung der Osmanenteppiche nach 1585 hat unter diesen Umständen selbstverständlich keine Bedeutung mehr. Welchen Zweck diese Berufung der elf Teppichmeister an den Hof nach Istanbul hatte, können wir heute noch nicht übersehen, da der Vorgang zu der bekannten Urkunde Murāds III., der offenbar davon sprach, leider nicht bekannt ist. So können wir ihr nur die immerhin bedeutungsvolle Tatsache entnehmen, dass im Jahre 1585 in Kairo eine blühende und berühmte Teppichmanufaktur bestand, während in Istanbul offenbar nichts vorhanden war; denn sonst hätte man kaum jene Teppichmeister sogar ihr Material in Form passend eingefärbter Wolle mitbringen lassen, ein Moment, das übrigens eher den Gedanken nahelegt, dass der Sultan von diesen elf Meistern einen besonderen Auftrag unter seinen Augen ausgeführt sehen wollte, als dass er die Absicht hatte, mit ihnen und dem Wollmaterial, das sie mitbrachten, eine eigene Manufaktur zu gründen. Der spezifisch osmanische Ornamentstil war lange vor 1585 entwickelt, und es liegt kein Grund vor, seine Übertragung auf den Knüpfteppich nicht schon ein halbes Jahrhundert früher anzunehmen. Im zweiten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts dürften wir mit dem Vorhandensein von Teppichen des blumigen Typs rechnen können. Daraus ergibt sich, dass Mamlükenteppiche wie das Wiener Stück (*Abb. 12*) mit seinen naturalistischen Eckfüllungen, die einem solchen blumigen Teppich entlehnt sind, nicht vor dem zweiten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein können, obwohl sie ihrer übrigen Musterung nach offenbar zu den früheren Exemplaren dieser Gruppe gehören. Man könnte versucht sein, daraus den Schluss zu ziehen, dass die ganze hier als Mamlükenteppiche bezeichnete Gruppe erst im 16. Jahrhundert entstanden sei, aber dagegen sprechen die Wiedergaben solcher Teppiche auf italienischen Bildern, aus denen eindeutig hervorgeht, dass der aufgelockerte Typ der Mamlükenteppiche mit seinen radialen Streumustern aus kleinen Blüten, Kandelabermotiven und Zypressen bereits im ersten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien bekannt war (*Abb. 8*). Es ist nun aber unmöglich, die stilistische Entwicklung umzukehren und anzunehmen, dass diese frei gezeichneten, aufgelockerten, fast malerisch wirkenden Teppiche mit ihrer bis zu zwölf Tönen bereicherten Farbskala am Anfang stehen, um dann den strenger gezeichneten dreifarbigem Stücken zu weichen. Wir haben zwar manchen Fall in der Teppichgeschichte, wo für uns die besten Stücke den Anfang bilden und die Entwicklung, die wir übersehen können, nur noch ein langsamer Abstieg ist, aber hier ist die allmähliche Bereicherung und Auflockerung der herben dreifarbigem Teppiche zu deutlich Schritt für Schritt zu verfolgen, hier bilden andererseits die reicherem Stücke zu klar den Übergang zu der Gruppe mit koordinierender Reihung kleiner Quadrate (*Abb. 22*), deren spätere Entste-

hung nicht bezweifelt werden kann. Es bleibt daher als Lösung nur die Annahme, dass die frühe Form der Mamlükenteppiche von der reicheren Form nicht einfach abgelöst wurde, sondern dass verschiedene Werkstätten nebeneinander arbeiteten, von denen eine oder einige an dem aus dem 15. Jahrhundert überkommenen Typ festhielten, oder, was auch möglich wäre, auf ihn zurückgriffen, während andere sie zu reicheren und gefälligeren Formen entwickelten. Gleichzeitig bildeten in enger Nachbarschaft unter dem Einfluss Istanbuls andere Werkstätten den neuen osmanischen Stil aus, wobei sie immer wieder gelegentlich auf die älteren Motive zurückgriffen. Endlich muss auch der vierte Typ, der die radial gestellten Streumuster schematisiert in einer das ganze Feld überziehenden kleinteiligen Quadrierung verwendet (*Abb. 22*), seit der Mitte des Jahrhunderts in besonderen Werkstätten gefertigt worden sein. Wir haben also das Bild einer so reichen Produktion vor uns, dass die mannigfaltigen Mischformen, die sich erhalten haben, nicht mehr überraschen, auch wenn wir heute noch nicht mit Sicherheit unterscheiden können, ob der eine oder andere dieser gewissermassen zwischen den klar ausgeprägten Typen stehenden Teppiche in einer alten Manufaktur entstanden ist, die sich dem neuen Stil anzupassen versuchte, oder in einer neuen, die teilweise noch mit den alten Formen arbeitete.

Jedenfalls zeigt sich, dass die oben gegebene Anordnung der erhaltenen Mamlükenteppiche in ihrer auf eine geradlinige Entwicklung abgestellten Form nicht möglich ist. Stücke wie die Nummern 6 und 10 müssen viel weiter ans Ende gerückt werden. Vielleicht hängt auch das Vorkommen streng gemusterter Teppiche auf den Bildern Tintoretto's, Bassano's und Palma Giovano mit diesem Weiterleben oder Wiederaufleben der älteren Form zusammen. Gewiss ist nur, dass während dieser Zeit der neue osmanische Typ immer mehr vordrang, um endlich die aus dem 15. Jahrhundert stammenden strengeren Formen ganz zu beseitigen. Allein in den Teppichen mit kleinteiliger Quadrierung leben sie entstellt und erstarrt bis ins 17. Jahrhundert weiter. Vielleicht erklärt sich die im Vergleich mit dem viel geschlosseneren Formenkreis der grossen Manufakturen Persiens überraschende Mannigfaltigkeit in den Mustern der Osmanenteppiche aus diesem reichen Erbe nebeneinander arbeitender Manufakturen, das sie antraten.

Damit kehrt die Untersuchung abschliessend zu der Frage zurück, von der sie ausging. Wo hat diese Entwicklung stattgefunden?

Die in drei gesonderten Untersuchungen gewonnenen Resultate sollten ausreichen, sie zu beantworten. Sie ergaben Folgendes:

1. Die beiden Gruppen, die man gewöhnlich als "Damaskusteppiche" und "Teppiche der türkischen Hofmanufaktur" oder auch als "geometrisch und blumig gemusterte Damaskusteppiche" unterscheidet und die hier als Mamlükenteppiche und Osmanenteppiche bezeichnet sind, müssen nach dem Befund der technischen Untersuchung an ein und demselben Ort entstanden sein. Dieser Befund wird durch die stilkritische Prüfung der Muster nur bestätigt. Die zahlreichen Beispiele von Teppichen, die in dieser oder jener Form eine Zwischenstellung zwischen den beiden Gruppen einnehmen, beweisen, dass sich die Osmanenteppiche in langsamer Entwicklung und im Nebeneinander verschiedener am



gleichen Ort arbeitender Manufakturen im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts gegen die Mamlūkenteppiche durchgesetzt haben. Man kann daher trotz der Verschiedenheit der Muster Mamlūken- und Osmanenteppiche als zwei aufeinander folgende Phasen in der Entwicklung einer Teppichgattung bezeichnen.

2. Aus den in grösserer Anzahl erhaltenen Quellen geht hervor, dass in Kairo blühende Teppichmanufakturen bestanden, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts entstanden waren und bis in das Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts arbeiteten. Ihre Erzeugnisse waren im Abendland wie im Morgenland, in Paris<sup>130</sup> wie in Istanbul,<sup>131</sup> in Madrid<sup>132</sup> wie am Hof eines kurdischen Begs in Bitlis<sup>133</sup> bekannt und beliebt. Ihr umfangreicher Betrieb wird noch um 1663 von einem europäischen Reisenden eingehend geschildert.<sup>134</sup> Zahlreiche Inventare des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts nennen Kairener Teppiche unmittelbar nach den persischen und meist vor den türkischen Erzeugnissen. Es kann daher kein Zweifel bestehen, dass wir es bei ihnen mit einer bedeutenden, wenn nicht der bedeutendsten Gattung der an das östliche Mittelmeer grenzenden Gebiete zu tun haben, deren Beispiele unter dem uns erhaltenen Material unbedingt vorhanden sein müssen.
3. Ein Versuch, die in ihrer Musteranlage einzigartigen "geometrisch gemusterten Damaskusteppiche" unter die Teppiche des 15. Jahrhunderts einzuordnen, ergibt, dass nur in Ägypten die Vorbedingungen für diese neue, allem bisher Bekannten entgegengesetzte Komposition zentralisierender Unterordnung gegeben sind. Diese Feststellung wird noch weiter bestätigt durch das Vorkommen eines typisch mamlūkischen Wappenzeichens auf einem dieser Teppiche.

Bezieht man diese in getrennten Untersuchungen erzielten Ergebnisse aufeinander, so zeigt sich:

Die erste Gruppe der sogen. "geometrischen Damaskusteppiche" (Mamlūkenteppiche) ist in Ägypten entstanden. Die zweite Gruppe der sogen. "Teppiche der türkischen Hofmanufaktur" (Osmanenteppiche) muss am gleichen Ort, also auch in Ägypten hergestellt worden sein. Die aus diesen beiden Gruppen gebildete grössere Einheit, die zeitlich von etwa 1450 bis etwa 1700 reicht, ist identisch mit den in den Quellen genannten Kairener Teppichen.

Technische Untersuchungen, stilistische Überlegungen und quellenkritische Studien fügen sich dabei zu einem in der Teppichkunde bisher einzigartig geschlossenen Bild zusammen, dem gegenüber an sich verständliche Bedenken nicht mehr ins Gewicht fallen.

Kairo wurde 1517 von den osmanischen Türken erobert. Damit war die mamlūkische Entwicklung, die im 15. Jahrhundert in der Baukunst noch einmal zu einer hohen Blüte geführt hatte, abgeschnitten. Auf allen Gebieten setzte sich, mehr oder minder schnell, das Osmanische durch, wobei es nicht immer fördernd gelegentlich auch hemmend, ja zerstörend

<sup>130</sup> "Kairener Teppiche," S. 188, Nr. 6.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 193, Nr. 16; S. 197, Nr. 21.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 198/9, Nrr. 27-30.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 195, Nr. 18.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 195/6, Nr. 20.

wirkt wie etwa in der Keramik, wo die heimischen Werkstätten der rasch aufblühenden Manufaktur von Isnik erliegen. Anders war die Lage offenbar auf dem Gebiet der Teppichknüpferei. Die Manufakturen Kairos waren zwar noch jung, aber sie hatten sich auf diesem Boden, der seit Jahrtausenden textile Höchstleistungen hervorgebracht hatte, in kurzer Zeit entfaltet. Meisterwerke wie der Seidenteppich in Wien beweisen schlagend ihr überragendes Können. Teppichzentren gab es an sich im türkischen Reich genug, aber sie waren bescheiden und wenig geeignet, verfeinerten Ansprüchen zu genügen. Der Aufgabe, einen osmanischen Teppichstil zu entwickeln, der die Konkurrenz mit den Arbeiten der grossen persischen Manufakturen aufnehmen konnte und auf diesem Gebiet dasselbe leistete, was Isnik für die Keramik geleistet hatte, waren sie keineswegs gewachsen. Da dürften die grosstädtischen Werkstätten Kairos geeigneter gewesen sein. Ihre Verpflanzung in eine zentralere Lage, die an sich den Gepflogenheiten jener Zeit entsprochen hätte, stiess vielleicht aus Gründen der Materialbeschaffung auf unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten. Nicht dass Kleinasien keine Wolle hätte liefern können, aber gerade die besonders feine, seidig glänzende Wolle war eine ägyptische Spezialität. Noch 1585 müssen ja schliesslich die Teppichmeister, die Murād III. nach Istanbul berief, in Ägypten gewonnene, aufbereitete und eingefärbte Wolle mitbringen. Deswegen oder aus anderen Gründen, die sich unserer Kenntnis entziehen, liess man die Werkstätten an Ort und Stelle, aber man osmanisierte sie. Das mag anfangs nicht leicht gewesen sein. Der Unterschied war zu gross. Ein Teil der Ateliers blieb bei den alten Formen, ja kehrte vielleicht unter dem fremden Druck zu den einfachen Mustern des 15. Jahrhunderts zurück. Billige Ware (*Abb. 22*) bewahrte sogar bis in das 17. Jahrhundert hinein bodenständige Motive, wenn sie auch, letzten Endes doch entwurzelt, immer stärker unter den Einfluss der wohlfeilen Erzeugnisse des kleinasiatischen Gebiets geriet, mit denen sie konkurrieren musste.<sup>135</sup> Aber allmählich setzt sich der Stil der herrschenden Schicht durch, wird das Mamlükische verdrängt, siegt das Osmanische.

Ich möchte aber auch an dieser Stelle wie schon am Ende des ersten Teils dieser Untersuchung<sup>136</sup> betonen, dass diese Feststellungen es nicht ausschliessen, dass auch im eigentlich türkischen Bereich Teppiche dieser Art gefertigt wurden. Versuche wie der Murāds III. können auch sonst erfolgt sein und zu Gründungen eigener Werkstätten geführt haben. Nicht jeder Osmanenteppich braucht daher in Kairo entstanden zu sein. Um da zu trennen, müsste man das Material wesentlich genauer kennen, als es heute der Fall ist. Ich wage jedenfalls keine Entscheidung. Eins aber scheint mir erwiesen. Die Konstruktion einer türkischen Hofmanufaktur in Kleinasien, die auf eine wenig überzeugende Weise mit der Produktion Kairos zusammenhing, ist nicht haltbar. Wenn die osmanischen Sultane überhaupt eine "Hofmanufaktur" gründeten (man täte vielleicht gut, diese alten, ein wenig erstarrten Begriffe aufzu-

<sup>135</sup> Erdmann, *Kunstwanderer* (1931), S. 198. Als anatolische Züge wären zu nennen: die koordinierende Reihung kleinteiliger Quadrate im Feld, die Musterung der Borten, die Veränderung der absoluten Teppich-

grösse bei Beibehaltung der ursprünglichen Grösse der Einzelformen.

<sup>136</sup> "Kairener Teppiche," S. 205-6.



tauen), dann geschah es in Kairo. Dort sind die Teppiche entstanden, die den osmanischen Stil repräsentieren. Sollte es andere Produktionsstätten gegeben haben, so waren sie nur Filialen. Das Zentrum lag in Kairo, und unter dem Namen dieser Stadt sind sie als "Alkheirische Teppich," als "tapis cairins," "tapedi cagiarini," "alfombras del Cairo" im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in die Sammlungen des Abendlandes aufgenommen worden.

# THE WRITINGS OF ERNST HERZFELD

## COMPILED BY GEORGE C. MILES

AS A TRIBUTE, BELATED BUT SINCERE, TO PROFESSOR ERNST HERZFELD ON THE OCCASION OF his sixtieth birthday (July 23, 1939), the editor has welcomed to *Ars Islamica* the present bibliography of that energetic and profound scholar's writings. Students, not only of Islamic art, but of the archaeology, art, history, and philology of the Near and Middle East in all periods from prehistoric times onward, will surely join in the wish that in the years to come Ernst Herzfeld will be no less productive than he has been in the thirty-odd years that have passed since he wrote his doctoral dissertation on Pasargadae.

The bibliography is arranged chronologically, each year being divided into two parts, the first consisting of books and articles, the second of reviews. Contributions which are concerned largely, or in a ponderable degree, with Islamic matters are marked with an asterisk (\*). Doubtless there will be omissions and errors; the compiler will be grateful to anyone who may bring either to his attention.

1907

### BOOKS AND ARTICLES

1. Pasargadae, Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen zur persischen Archaeologie. (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde genehmigt von der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin) Berlin, August 5, 1907. 32 pp., 1 pl.

[Pp. 1-28 correspond to pp. 1-28 of No. 7 below; pp. 29-31 contain a summary of the second part of No. 7; the plate is identical with Pl. I of No. 7.]

- \*2. Samarra, Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen zur islamischen Archaeologie. Berlin, 1907. viii + 92 pp., 23 text illus., 8 pls.
- \*3. Untersuchungen über die historische Topographie der Landschaft am Tigris, kleinen Zâb und Ġebel Ĥamrîn. In *Memnon, Zeitschrift für die Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte des Alten Orients*, I (Leipzig, 1907), 89-143, 9 illus.; 217-38, 2 illus., 1 map.
- \*4. Eine Reise durch Lûristân, Arabistân und Fârs. In *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, LIII (Gotha, 1907), 49-63, 73-90, 1 map (being Pl. 7 of the volume).

### REVIEWS

5. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens. Berlin, 1907. In *Memnon, Zeitschrift für die Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte des Alten Orients*, I (Leipzig, 1907), 265-67.
6. Général de Beylié, L'Architecture des Abbasides au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, Paris, 1907. In *Memnon*, I (Leipzig, 1907), 267-68.

1908

### BOOKS AND ARTICLES

7. Pasargadae, Untersuchungen zur persischen Archäologie. In *Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, VIII (Leipzig, 1908), 1-68, 3 pls.  
[Cf. No. 1 above.]
8. Herbaraufnahmen aus Kāl'at-Serḳāt-As-sur. *Beihefte zur orientalistischen Literatur-Zeitung* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 29-37.

1909

### BOOKS AND ARTICLES

9. Hellenistisches aus Kilikien: Olba, die Stadt der Teukriden. In *Sitzungs-Berichte*



*der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, No. 34, März-Sitzung (Berlin, 1909), 13-22.

10. Eine Reise durch das westliche Kilikien im Frühjahr 1907. In *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, LV (Gotha, 1909), 25-34, 1 map (being Pl. 3 of the volume).
- \*11. Über die historische Geographie von Mesopotamien. Ein Programm. In *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, LV (Gotha, 1909), 345-49.
12. S. Guyer u. E. Herzfeld, Einige Ergebnisse ihrer . . . archäologischen Forschungsreise durch Kilikien. In *Archaeologischer Anzeiger, Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts* (Berlin, 1909), März-Sitzung, cols. 433-50.

## REVIEWS

- \*13. Das heutige Persien. In *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, LV (Gotha, 1909), 190-92.  
[This is a review of Eugène Aubin's *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*.]
- \*14. L. d. Olmer, L'Industrie persane, Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Perse. In *Petermanns geographischer Literatur-Bericht für 1909* (Gotha, 1909), p. 170.
15. Ed. Gaebler und E. Oppermann, Schulwandkarte von Palästina zur Zeit Christi. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XII (Leipzig, 1909), cols. 484-85.
16. Adolf Michaelis, Ein Jahrhundert kunstarchäologischer Entdeckungen. Leipzig, 1908. In *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur*, III, Hft. 1 (Heidelberg, 1909), 22.

1910

## BOOKS AND ARTICLES

17. Friedrich Sarre und Ernst Herzfeld, Iransche Felsreliefs, Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Denkmälern aus Alt- und Mittelpersischer Zeit. Berlin, 1910. 277 pp., 115 text illus. (in a separate folio) 2 maps, 51 pls. [This, the original edition,

was limited to some 100 copies. In 1920, but still dated 1910, an unauthorized reprint was issued with the plates reduced in size and bound in with the text volume.]

- \*18. Die Genesis der islamischen Kunst und das Mshatta-Problem. In *Der Islam*, I (Strassburg, 1910), 27-63, 19 text illus., 4 pls.; 105-44, 4 text illus., 1 pl.
19. Das Alter der altpersischen Keilschrift. In *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXIV (Leipzig, 1910), 63-64.
20. Denkmäler aus alt- und mittelpersischer Zeit. In *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, XXVII, No. 51 (Berlin, December 19, 1910), cols. 1410-13.

[A report of E.H.'s communication to the *Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, March 1, 1910.]

## REVIEWS

- \*21. Friedrich Sarre, Erzeugnisse islamischer Kunst. Teil II: Seldschukische Kleinkunst. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XIII (Leipzig, 1910), cols. 214-17.
22. Heinrich Kohl, Kasr Firaun in Petra. 13. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XIII (Leipzig, 1910), cols. 413-14.
- \*23. Dr. A. Nöldeke, Der Heiligtum al-Ḥusains zu Kerbelâ. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XIII (Leipzig, 1910), cols. 449-54.
24. Richard Kiepert, Karte von Kleinasien. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XIII (Leipzig, 1910), cols. 548-49.
25. Sir W. M. Ramsay and Gertrude L. Bell, The Thousand and One Churches. London, 1909. In *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, XXX, No. 43 (Berlin, October 22, 1910), cols. 1354-55.

1911

## BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- \*26. Friedrich Sarre und Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet (Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst*, I, herausgegeben von Friedrich Sarre). Vol. I, Berlin, 1911. xii + 252 pp., 132 text illus., 2 maps. Vol. III, Berlin, 1911. xii pp., 120 pls.  
[For Volumes II and IV, see the year 1920.]
- \*27. Die Qubbat al-Ṣakhra, ein Denkmal frühislamischer Baukunst. In *Der Islam*, II (Strassburg, 1911), 235-44, 1 plan in the text.
- \*28. آثار سامراء الحالية وسامراء الحالية Translation by Kāzim al-Dudjailī. In *Lughat al-ʿarab*, Pt. 3 (Baghdad, Ramaḍān, 1329 H.—1911 A.D.), 81-94.
- \*29. ماذا يرى اليوم في سامراء Translation by Kāzim al-Dudjailī. In *Lughat al-ʿarab*, Pt. 5 (Baghdad, Shawwāl, 1329 H.—1911 A.D.), 134-46.

## REVIEWS

- \*30. Max van Berchem und Jos. Strzygowski, Amida. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XIV (Leipzig, 1911), cols. 397-435.  
[This is more than a review; it should actually be listed as an article.]
31. Zu Strzygowski's Aufsätzen in *Der Islam* Bd. II, 79 ff. u. OLZ 1911 Nr. 4. In *Der Islam*, II (Strassburg, 1911), 411-13.  
[On two articles by Strzygowski, one dealing with Herzfeld's "Die Genesis der islamischen Kunst" (No. 18 above), the other "Felsendom und Aksamoschee."]
- \*32. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, Armenien einst und jetzt, Reisen und Forschungen. Bd. I: Vom Kaukasus zum Tigris und nach Tigranokerta. In *Petermanns geographi-*

*scher Literaturbericht, Petermanns Mitteilungen*, LVII (Gotha, 1911), 151.

1912

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- \*33. Erster Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra, mit einem Vorwort von Friedrich Sarre. Herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung der königlichen Museen. Berlin, 1912. xii + 49 pp., 10 text illus., 15 pls.
- \*34. Die Ausgrabungen in Samarra und das Verhältnis der frühislamischen Kunst zum späten Hellenismus. In *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts* (Berlin, 1912), April-Sitzung, cols. 135-40.
- \*35. Die deutschen Ausgrabungen in Samarra. In *Leipziger illustrierte Zeitung*, August 22, 1912, pp. 335-39, 11 illus.

## REVIEW

36. G. Schumacher, Karte des Ostjordanlandes. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XV (Leipzig, 1912), col. 365.

1913

## BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- \*37. 'Amra (Ḳuṣair 'Amra, das "kleine Kastell 'A.'). In *Enzyklopaedie des Islām*,<sup>1</sup> I (Leiden and Leipzig, 1913), 353-55; *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, I (Leyden and London, 1913), 336-39.
- \*38. Arabeske. In *EI(G)*, I, 380-84. 2 pls.; Arabesque. *EI(E)*, I, 363-67. 2 pls.
- \*39. 'Askar Sāmarrā oder 'Askar al-Mu'taṣim. In *EI(G)*, I, 507-8; *EI(E)*, I, 488-89.
- \*40. Bābil. In *EI(G)*, I, 570-71; *EI(E)*, I, 548-50.

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter abbreviated *EI(G)* for the German and *EI(E)* for the English edition. The volume year, not the fascicule year, is cited throughout.



- \*41. Bakhtegān oder Pičagān. In *EI*(G), I, 625-26; Bakhtigān. *EI*(E), I, 601.
- \*42. Bālis. In *EI*(G), I, 645-46; *EI*(E), I, 620-21.
- \*43. Bam. In *EI*(G), I, 667; *EI*(E), I, 640-41.
- \*44. Bampūr. In *EI*(G), I 670-71; *EI*(E), I, 644.
- \*45. Bārimmā. In *EI*(G), I, 687; *EI*(E), I, 660.
- \*46. Bawāzīdj, oder Bawāzīdj al-Malik. In *EI*(G), I, 712; *EI*(E), I, 683.
- \*47. Bāwīān. In *EI*(G), I, 712; *EI*(E), I, 683-84.
- \*48. Birs, auch Birs Nimrūd. In *EI*(G), I, 756-57; *EI*(E), I, 726.
- \*49. Bīsutūn. In *EI*(G), I, 764-65; *EI*(E), I, 734.

## REVIEW

- \*50. H. v. Mžik, Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XVI (Leipzig, 1913), col. 81.

1914

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- 51. Die Aufnahme des sasanidischen Denkmals von Paikūli. In *Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, Nr. 1 (Berlin, 1914). 29 pp., 2 text illus., 3 pls.
- \*52. Mitteilung über die Arbeiten der zweiten Kampagne von Samarra. In *Der Islam*, V (Strassburg, 1914), 196-204, 1 plan in text.
- \*53. Mashhad 'Alī, ein Bau Zengi's II a.H. 589. In *Der Islam*, V (Strassburg, 1914), 358-69, 5 text illus., 5 pls.
- 54. Hatra. In *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXVIII (Leipzig, 1914), 655-76.
- 55. Ḥana et Mari. In *Revue d'assyriologie et*

*d'archéologie orientale*, XI, No. 3 (Paris, 1914), 131-39, 3 text illus.

1916

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- \*56. Die Tabula ansata in der islamischen Epigraphik und Ornamentik. In *Der Islam*, VI (Strassburg, 1916), 189-99, 14 text illus.
- \*57. Alongoa. In *Der Islam*, VI (Strassburg, 1916), 317-27.

## REVIEW

- \*58. Zur Flurys Aufsatz. Bd. VI, 71 ff. In *Der Islam*, VI (Strassburg, 1916), 210-14.  
[On S. Flury's "Die Gipsornamente des Dēr es-Sūrjānī," *Der Islam*, VI, 71-87.]

1917

## REVIEW

- \*59. Heinrich Glück, Der Breit- und Langhausbau in Syrien, auf Kultur-geographischer Grundlage bearbeitet. Heidelberg, 1916. In *Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, III, Hft. 1/2 (Weimar, 1917), 2 pp.

1919

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- 60. Archäologische Parerga: I. Kinahna—Kizwadna. II. Hypsomata. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXII (Leipzig, 1919), cols. 212-14.
- \*61. Archäologische Parerga: III. Das assyrische Zelt. IV. Das Gemälde "Die Könige der Erde." In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXII (Leipzig, 1919), cols. 249-56, 4 text illus.
- 62. Vergangenheit und Zukunft der Erforschung Vorderasiens. In *Der neue Orient*, IV (Berlin, 1919), 313-23.

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- \*63. J. Strzygowski, Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa. In *Archiv für Geschichte*

und Aesthetik der Architektur, in *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst*, IV (Berlin, 1919), 1-14.

- \*64. "Cur me quaerellis exanimas tuis?" In *Archiv für Geschichte und Aesthetik der Architektur* (see No. 63 above), IV (Berlin, 1919), 98-99.

[Further notes on Strzygowski's *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*.]

1920

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65. Am Tor von Asien, Felsdenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit. Berlin, 1920. xii + 164 pp., 44 text illus., 65 pls.
- \*66. Friedrich Sarre und Ernst Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet (*Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst*, I, herausgegeben von Friedrich Sarre). Vol. II, Berlin, 1920. xii + 395 pp., 245 text illus., 2 maps. Vol. IV, Berlin, 1920. viii + 59 pp., 22 text illus., 27 pls.

[For Volumes I and III, see the year 1911.]

- \*67. Der Thron des Khosrô, Quellenkritische und ikonographische Studien über Grenzgebiete der Kunstgeschichte des Morgen- und Abendlandes. In *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLI (Berlin, 1920), 1-24, 103-47, 36 text illus., 2 pls.
68. Archäologische Parerga: V. Die assyrische Säule. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXIII (Leipzig, 1920), cols. 207-10.

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69. M. Streck, Seleucia und Ktesiphon ("Der Alte Orient," hrsg. von der Vorderasiat. Gesellschaft, XVI, 1917, 3/4). In *Petermanns geographischer Literaturbericht*, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, LXVI (Gotha, 1920), 175.

1921

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- \*70. Mshattâ, Hîra und Bâdiya, Die Mittel-länder des Islam und ihre Baukunst. In *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLII (Berlin, 1921), 104-46, 17 text illus., 10 pls.
- \*71. Khorasan. Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islam in Iran. In *Der Islam*, XI (Strassburg, 1921), 107-74, 2 maps.
72. Khattische und Khaldische Bronzen. In *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehmann-Haupts Sechzigstem Geburtstage*, herausgegeben von K. Regling und H. Reich, in *Janus, Arbeiten zur alten und byzantinischen Geschichte*, Hft. 1 (Wien and Leipzig, 1921), 145-57, 1 text illus., consisting of 22 drawings.
- \*73. 'Baubeschreibung,' in Moritz Sobernheim, *Die Inschriften der Moschee von Hims*. In *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehmann-Haupts Sechzigstem Geburtstage* (see No. 72 above), Hft. 1 (Wien and Leipzig, 1921), 233-39, 2 text illus.

1922

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- \*74. Die Gumbadh-i-'Alawiyyân und die Baukunst der Ilkhane in Iran. In *A Volume of Oriental Studies, Presented to Edward G. Browne . . . on his 60th Birthday*. Cambridge, 1922. Pp. 186-99, 7 pls.
- \*75. Eine Bauinschrift von Nizâm al-mulk. In *Der Islam*, XII (Strassburg, 1922), 98-101, 1 text illus.
- \*76. Max van Berchem, geb. den 16. März 1863, gest. den 7. März 1921. In *Der Islam*, XII (Strassburg, 1922), 206-13.
- \*77. Etimologia d'al-qaysâriyyah. In *Oriente moderno*, I (Rome, 1922), 691.



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- \*78. Dr. Paul Schwarz: Iran in Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen. IV. Leipzig, 1921. In *Der Islam*, XII (Strassburg, 1922), 131-38.
79. Theodor Dombart, Der Sakralturm. I. Teil: Zikkurrat. München, 1920. In *Der Islam*, XII (Strassburg, 1922), 240-42.
- \*80. Max Herz Pascha, Die Baugruppe des Sultans Qalâûn in Kairo. Hamburg, 1919. In *Der Islam*, XII (Strassburg, 1922), 242-43.
- \*81. Dr. ing. Adolf Neynaber, Die Wehrbauten des Iraq. Berlin, 1920. In *Der Islam*, XII (Strassburg, 1922), 244.
- \*82. Dr. ing. Karl Müller, Die Karawanserei im vorderen Orient. Berlin, 1920. In *Der Islam*, XII (Strassburg, 1922), 245-46.
- \*83. Captain K. Archie C. Creswell, A Brief Chronology of the Muhammedan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517. Cairo, 1919. In *Der Islam*, XII (Strassburg, 1922), 246-48.

1923

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- \*84. Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra und seine Ornamentik. Volume I, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra (*Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst*, II, herausgegeben von Friedrich Sarre). Berlin, 1923. xii + 236 pp., 321 text illus., 101 pls.

## REVIEW

- \*85. Dr.-Ing. Karl Müller, Die Karawanserei im vorderen Orient, Berlin, 1920. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXVI (Leipzig, 1923), cols. 175-76.

1924

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86. Paikuli, Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire (*Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst*, III,

herausgegeben von Friedrich Sarre). Berlin, 1924. I, xiv + 248 pp., 42 text illus., 2 maps; II, 228 pls.

1925

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- \*87. (Friedrich Sarre, Die Keramik von Samarra), Anhang I, Epigraphisches. Volume II, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra (*Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst*, II, herausgegeben von Friedrich Sarre). Berlin, 1925. Pp. 81-92, 30 text illus.
88. Les Monuments nationaux de la Perse. Conférence faite à Téhéran, le 13 août 1925. Brochure 2, *Publications de la société Athârê Melli* (Teheran, 1925). 20 pp. (accompanied by Persian translation, آثار ملی ایران 27 pp.).

1926

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- \*89. Reisebericht. In *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Neue Folge V (Leipzig, 1926), 225-84.
90. Eine neue Darius-Inscription aus Hamadan. In *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Neue Folge III (Berlin, 1926), cols. 2105-8.
- \*91. Einige Bücherschätze in Persien. In *Ephemerides Orientales* (Otto Harrassowitz), No. 28 (Leipzig, 1926), 1-8.

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- \*92. Friedrich Sarre, Ardabil, Grabmoschee des Schech Safi. Denkmäler persischer Baukunst, Teil II. In *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Neue Folge III (Berlin, 1926), cols. 174-77.
- \*93. K. A. C. Creswell, The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of Cairene Madrasas. Cairo, 1922. In *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Neue Folge III (Berlin, 1926), cols. 417-23.
- \*94. André Godard, Ghazni. Samuel Flury, Le Décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna. Paris, 1925. In *Deutsche Litera-*

*turzeitung*, Neue Folge, III (Berlin, 1926), cols. 668–71.

1927

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- \*95. Die Malereien von Samarra. Volume III, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra (*Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst*, II, herausgegeben von Friedrich Sarre), Berlin, 1927. 111 pp., 83 text illus., 88 pls.
- \*96. Ḥaḍīṭha (al-Mausil, al-Furāt, *Dirsh*). In *EI(G)*,<sup>2</sup> II (Leiden and Leipzig, 1927), 206–7; *EI(E)*, II, 194–5.
- \*97. Ḥafrak. In *EI(G)*, II, 228; *EI(E)*, II, 215.
- \*98. Ḥā'ir oder Ḥair. In *EI(G)*, II, 234; *EI(E)*, II, 221.
- \*99. Ḥamrīn. In *EI(G)*, II, 269; *EI(E)*, II, 254.
- \*100. Ḥarbā. In *EI(G)*, II, 282; *EI(E)*, II, 266.
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## NOTES

### A PERSIAN GARDEN CARPET IN THE JAIPUR MUSEUM

A well-known variety of Persian floral rug is the so-called garden rug, with a schematic representation of a garden plan divided by water channels into numerous plots with trees and flowers. The pattern goes back to the famous Sasanian rug in the palace at Ctesiphon called "Spring of Chosroes," described by Ṭabarī and other Arab writers. It was 450 feet long by 90 feet wide. A garden rug, formerly in the Figdor collection (*Fig. 1*) and now in the Industrial Art Museum at Vienna,<sup>1</sup> has been generally regarded as the earliest example. Martin dates this rug about 1580, Kendrick assigns it to the period of Shah Abbas, Sarre and others to the first half of the sixteenth century. Later than the Figdor rug is the garden carpet formerly in the Wagner collection,<sup>2</sup> Berlin, measuring 17 feet, 5 inches by 14 feet, 2 inches, which Martin assigned to about 1640, whereas Kendrick dates it to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Most of the existing garden carpets, which vary in size, seem to be of a later period, that is, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although some authors favor an earlier date. The largest known example is the incomplete garden carpet in the collection of Lord Aberconway,<sup>3</sup> measuring 31 feet, 2 inches, by 11 feet, 8 inches, which Kendrick assigned provisionally to the seventeenth century. The style of the design in this rug and several related

fragments, as for instance one in the collection of H. D. McLaren in London and another in the Metropolitan Museum, however, excludes such an early dating, and points rather to the middle or second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The province of Kurdistan has been suggested as the possible home of these late garden rugs. Somewhat different in style is the small garden rug in the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>5</sup> formerly in the Lamm collection in Sweden, assigned by Martin to about 1750. It has a deep color scheme and shows many features of Caucasian rugs. It seems to have been made in some other district than the above rugs, possibly in the Karabagh region.

The Figdor rug (*Fig. 1*) is of small size, measuring 6 feet 1 inch by 5 feet. There are six fields in red separated by water channels, enlarged here and there into ponds, with fishes and ducks, sometimes in combat. Each plot with trees and birds contains rose, yellow, dark blue, and medium blue medallions or sections of medallions with floral scrolls or trees. The narrow border contains a wavy stem with palmettes, rosettes, and leaves on a medium blue ground. The colors of the design are vivid and recall those on some of the floral rugs associated with the vase carpets, as, for instance, the Havemeyer rug now on loan in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>6</sup> A peculiar feature of the Figdor rug is the use of metal threads in the rendering of animals and of some of the blossoms to enhance their polychromy.

Of great importance to students of Oriental

<sup>1</sup> Color reproduction in F. Sarre and H. Trenkwald, *Old Oriental Carpets* (Vienna, 1926), II, Pl. 12.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. Kendrick and C. E. C. Tattersall, *Handwoven Carpets, Oriental and European* (London, 1922), II, Pl. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A. U. Pope, "The Art of Carpet Making," *Survey of Persian Art* (London, New York, 1938-39), VI, Pl. 1270.

<sup>4</sup> An eighteenth-century date was also suggested by Pope in his *Survey of Persian Art*, III, 2428.

<sup>5</sup> Martin, *A History of Oriental Carpets Before 1800* (Vienna, 1908), Pl. XXIV; M. S. Dimand, *Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts* (New York, 1930), Fig. 157.

<sup>6</sup> *Survey of Persian Art*, VI, Pl. 1223; M. S. Dimand, *Oriental Rugs and Textiles* (New York, 1935), Fig. 6.

rugs in the discovery of a magnificent garden carpet (*Fig. 2*), now in the Jaipur Museum in India. Through the courtesy of the government of the Jaipur State, particularly of its prime minister, Lieutenant Colonel Sir H. Beauchamp St. John, I am able to publish this hitherto unknown carpet, which is the finest and most sumptuous example of a Persian garden rug in existence. It was discovered in 1937 in a sealed storeroom at Amber, the old palace of the maharajas of Jaipur. Most of the rugs from the Amber palace, partly known to us from the publication of Colonel T. H. Hendley,<sup>7</sup> were transferred to Jaipur city in 1728, where Maharaja Sawā'ī Jai Singh II built a new capital. For some unknown reason the garden carpet was left behind. This Persian garden carpet is 28 feet, 8 inches long by 12 feet, 3½ inches wide. According to the description of the carpet supplied by William Owens, the controlling officer of the Jaipur Museum, the warps are of cotton, twisted four-fold. The weft threads are usually of brown wool (two-fold), sometimes yellow or red, and of red or blue silk. There are 256 knots (right hand Sehna knot) to the square inch. The pile shows fine silky wool clipped short.

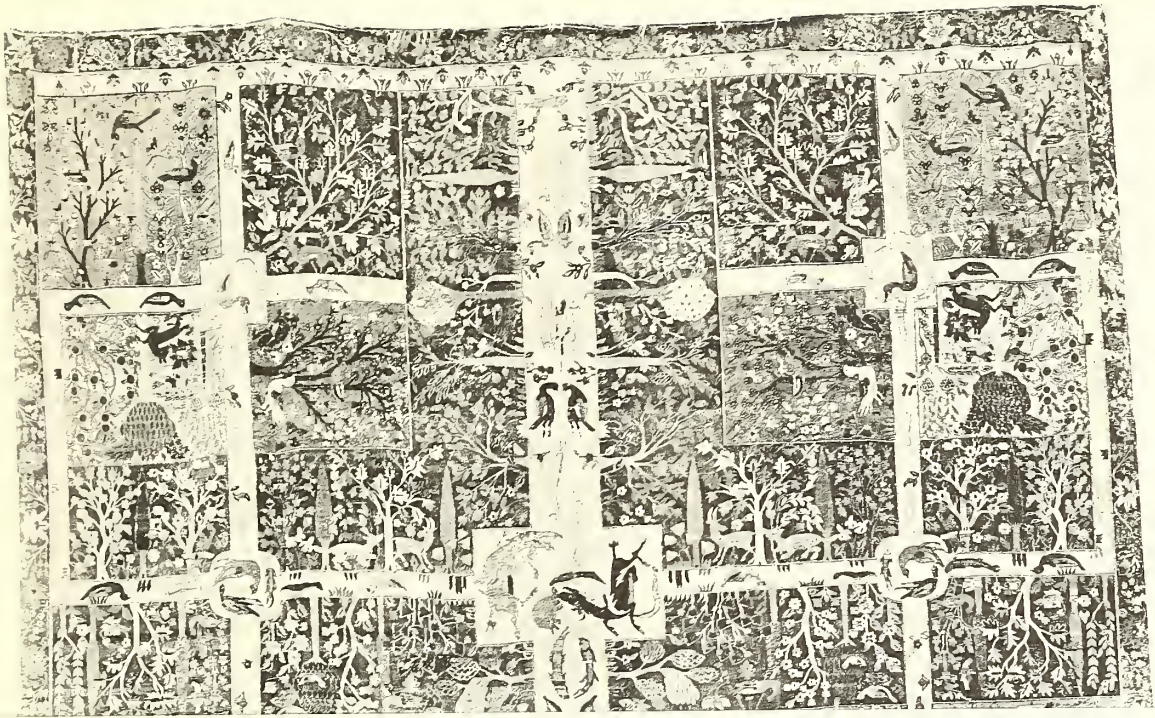
The carpet represents a formal Persian garden, divided by streams, flowing in channels lined with marble, into four main garden sections (*čār bāgh*), each further subdivided by canals into two more parts of different size containing small garden plots. The water in the streams and canals is indicated by blue-green wavy lines. The arrangement is entirely symmetrical from top to bottom and from right to left. In the center of the garden is a large water basin or pool in which stands a pavilion (*Fig. 3*) with a blue dome and richly decorated interior containing a seat or throne from which the owner could have enjoyed the fine view of the garden.

<sup>7</sup> T. M. Hendley, *Asian Carpets, XVIth and XVIIth Century Designs, from the Jaypur Palaces* (London, 1905).

The central basin, like all the streams and canals, is alive with fish, ducks, a turtle, and also with fabulous creatures, borrowed from China. In the main basin there are two Chinese chi-lin attacking each other; a Chinese dragon attacks a fish and is bitten in turn by another fish; further, two birds are fighting, and fish are attacked by ducks and even by a quadruple animal. In the four smaller basins (*Fig. 4*) of the main stream there are chi-lin, turtles, and waterfowl. Each quarter of the garden has three other basins of small size, either round or square, placed at the intersections of canals. The large stream and the main subsidiary water channels run through broad avenues (*Figs. 5-6*) filled with an astonishing variety of trees and flowering shrubs. As in all Persian gardens, there is found a combination of decorative trees, such as cypresses, shade trees, among them plane trees, and a variety of fruit trees laden with peaches, pomegranates, and other fruits. Here and there one also sees date palms. Flowers grow under the trees; one can recognize roses, lilies, and carnations. The gardens are full of birds, probably pheasants, flying, sitting on the grass, perched in trees, or feeding their young in nests, and there are occasional deer, stags, and other animals.

The ground color of the avenues is red, the predominating color of the rug, upon which the design is rendered in vivid colors of various shades. Surrounded by these avenues are several groups of square garden plots in various colors. In four garden sections nearest the central basin we see a group of five plots in different colors (*Figs. 7-11*) repeated symmetrically: dark blue, yellow-gold, copper-red, azure blue, and gray-green. Groups of four garden plots (*Figs. 12-15*) are seen at the two top sections and bottom sections of the rug. Their color scheme is different from that of the groups of five plots. The colors of the four plots are: rose, navy blue, medium blue, and yellow-brown. The









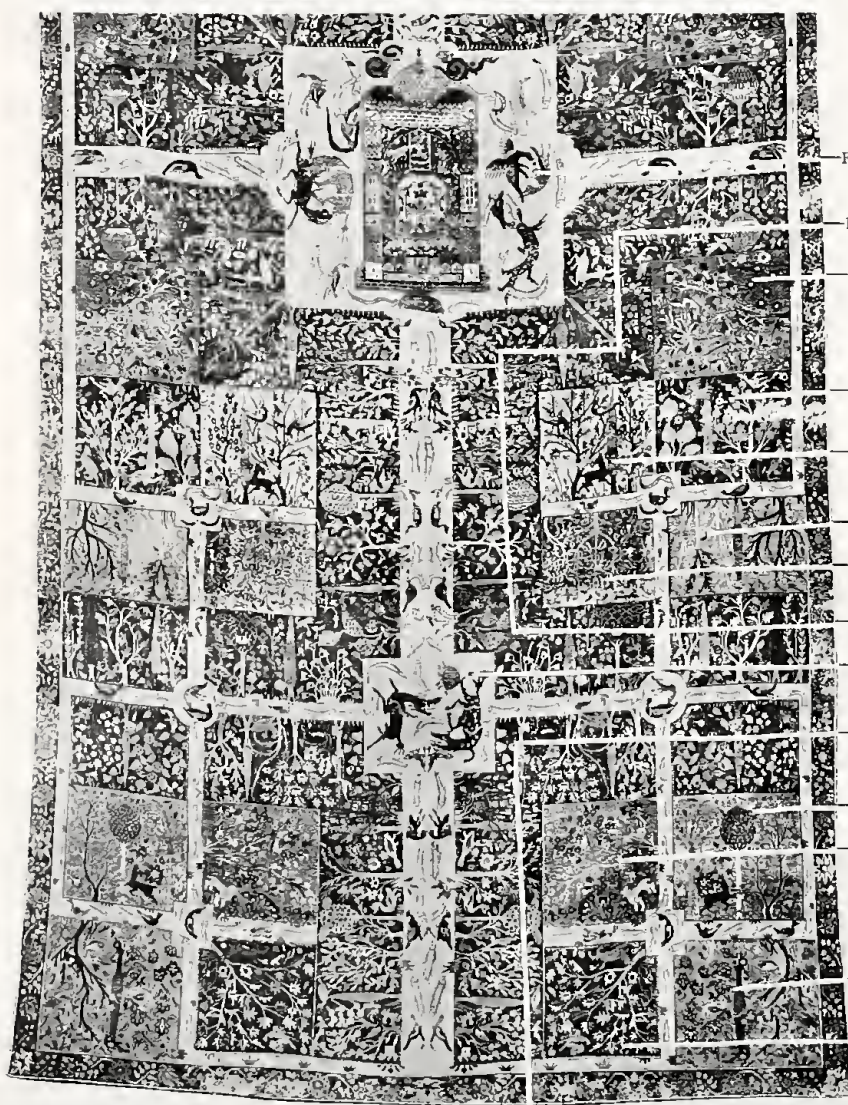
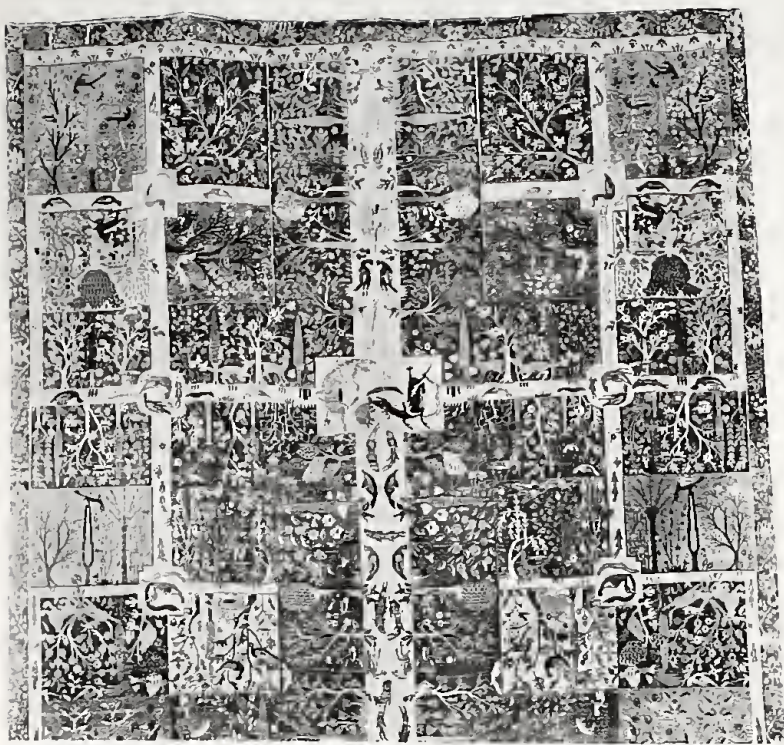


FIG. 3 (CENTRAL PAVILION)

BEGINNING OF SIXTH AVENUE

FIG. 7

FIG. 9

FIG. 8

FIG. 11

FIG. 10

FIG. 5 (END OF SIXTH AVENUE)

FIG. 4

FIG. 6 (BEGINNING OF SEVENTH AVENUE)

FIG. 17

FIG. 15

FIG. 14

FIG. 13

FIG. 2—GARDEN CARPET. BEGINNING OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY  
JAIPUR MUSEUM







FIG. 1—GARDEN RUG. BEGINNING OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AFTER D'ALLEMAGNE  
VIENNA, INDUSTRIAL ART MUSEUM

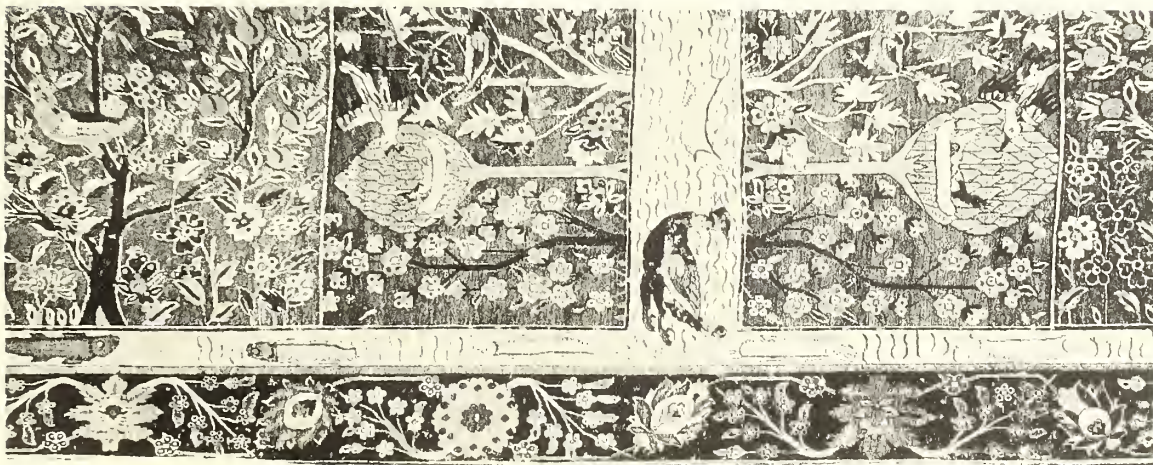


FIG. 16—BORDER, GARDEN CARPET  
JAIPUR MUSEUM





FIG. 4—SMALL BASIN, LOWER HALF



FIG. 3—CENTRAL BASIN AND PAVILION

GARDEN CARPET, JAIPUR MUSEUM





FIG. 5—PART OF AVENUE



FIG. 6—PART OF AVENUE



FIG. 7—PLOT NO. 1 IN FIVE-PLOT SECTION





FIG. 8



FIG. 9

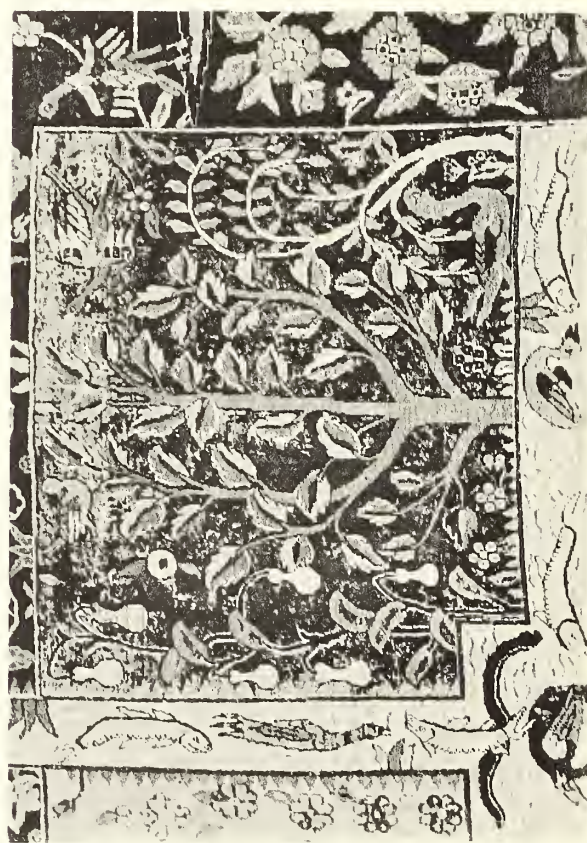


FIG. 10



FIG. 11

FIGS. 8-11—PLOTS NOS. 2-5 IN FIVE-PLOT SECTION  
GARDEN CARPET, JAIPUR MUSEUM



rich color scheme of the Jaipur garden rug is not unlike that of the Figdor rug, and it is also reminiscent of the Havemeyer cartouche rug. The garden plots of the Jaipur carpet show an exuberant vegetation similar to that of the avenues. The various trees, blossoms, birds, and animals reveal a keen observation of nature. Many of the trees are easily recognizable. There are usually three different trees in each plot, although a few plots contain only a single shade or fruit tree. In four of the plots (*Fig. 13*), two at the upper and two at the lower edge, a large plane tree is placed diagonally. In some of the plots one recognizes peach trees, and in two of the panels appear trees with fruit resembling gourds (*Fig. 10*). Pheasants and tropical birds roam amidst the trees, and in a few sections wild animals appear.

The carpet has a narrow blue border (*Fig. 16*) with a floral scroll bearing two types of palmettes, rosettes, and sprays of small five-petaled blossoms. Almost identical borders are known from several vase carpets, such as those in the Berlin Museum, in the collection of Mrs. David B. White in St. Louis, in the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, in the collection of Miss E. T. Brown in Glasgow, and two foliage rugs, one in the collection of Comtesse de Béhague in Paris, the other in the Deering collection in London.<sup>8</sup>

Of importance for the dating of the Jaipur rug are several inventory records written in ink on a label sewn to the lining and on the lining itself. The earliest inscription is in Persian, but in Hindu characters and reads as follows:

“Sri Ramji

Foreign carpet design four gardens (‘čār bāgh’) center large tank animals catching fish on all sides of the tank border garden

plots of five colors silken fringe length 12¾ breadth 5⅞ one piece

Date of entry 12th Šafar, year 1042” (August 29, 1632 A.D.).

Eight years later, between the invocation to Sri Ramji and the beginning of the inventory notes, there was added at the left side a second date: Date of entry thirtieth month Šafar, year 1050 (June 21, 1640 A.D.).

Five years afterwards another record entry was made, and a date was inserted between the main inscription and the earliest date: Date of entry twenty-ninth Rabī‘ al-ākhir, year 1055 (June 28, 1645 A.D.).

After another seven years three other additions were made to the inscription: Present value Rs. 500. At the bottom left-hand corner: Sukh (?) Maḥall (The Sukh Maḥall is an apartment in Amber Palace). Probably belonging to these two notes is the following inscription: Date of entry (?), 29th Dhu’l-Ḳa‘da, year 1062 (November 2, 1652 A.D.).

The entries of the lining indicate the same value and size as the label, but the date is two months later—10 Rabī‘ al-ākhir, 1042 (October 16, 1632 A.D.). The lining also has a Jaipuri date: Miti 2 Mangsir Sudi Sambat 1713 (1656 A.D.).

According to the earliest date on the label and lining, this carpet was made before the year 1632 and was of foreign make (*valayati*). Most of the carpets in the Jaipur collection are listed as “Lahori gallim.” The garden carpet was imported to Jaipur in the time of the ruler Mirza Rajah Jai Singh I (1622–68), who built the palace at Amber. It is of interest to note that the first record date (1632) is earlier than that on any other rug in the collection of His Highness, the Maharaja of Jaipur. Most of the carpets in Jaipur are marked 1650 and later. The garden carpet must have been made several years before 1632, most likely between 1622 and 1632, perhaps at the order of Rajah Jai Singh I. The weaving of the carpet began probably under

<sup>8</sup> Sarre and Trenkwald, *op. cit.*, II, Pls. 6, 7; *Survey of Persian Art*, VI, Pls. 1221, 1225, 1226, 1228, 1232, 1239.

Shah Abbas the Great (1586–1628) and was finished in his reign or after his death. The place of manufacture is unknown to us, but judging from the border and the color scheme, which recall those of several vase rugs and related ones, it may be assumed that the Jaipur carpet was made in the same center as the vase rugs. For some time vase rugs were regarded as products of Kerman, but lately they have been attributed with some justification to Djawshakān Kālī near Isfahan. From the accounts of the Mughal historian Abu'l-Faḍl, it is known that in the time of Akbar (1556–1605) merchants of India imported rugs from Djawshakān, Kerman, and other places. The style of the Jaipur carpet is well known from works of the Shah Abbas period. The naturalistic style of the landscape may be found also in a number of velvets and brocades of that period. The Jaipur carpet probably reproduces one of the magnificent Safawid gardens laid out by Shah Abbas the Great in Isfahan, Shiraz, and other places. Sir Thomas Herbert, who traveled in Persia from 1627 to 1629, tells us that the famous gardens of the king, the Hazār Djarīb and Čār-Bāgh in Isfahan, contend for beauty with all others in Asia. Of the gardens at Shiraz, especially of the king's garden, Herbert<sup>9</sup> wrote as follows:

"The gardens are many, and both large and beautiful; so as I may say of this what the Syrians attribute to those of Damascus: *Operatissimi sunt in hortis*. Several of them (as I paced) are eight hundred paces long and four hundred broad. But Hony-shaw<sup>10</sup> (which is the King's) challenges superiority over all the rest, being square every way 2,000 paces. Most of them safeguarded with walls fourteen foot high and four foot thick, and which from their spaciousness and plenty of trees resemble groves

<sup>9</sup> T. Herbert, *Travels in Persia (1627–1629)* (New York, 1929), pp. 72–73.

<sup>10</sup> It is meant probably for Khāna-i Shāh, perhaps the garden now known as the Bāgh-i Takht.

or wildernesses, but by that name (the Persian word is *bawt* [*bāgh*]) are called; they abound in lofty pyramidal cypresses, broad-spreading chenaers, tough elm, straight ash, knotty pines, fragrant mastics, kingly oaks, sweet myrtles, useful maples; and of fruit-trees are grapes (whose wood, though little worth, some say never rots), pomegranates, pomecitrons, oranges, lemons, pistachios, apples, pears, peaches, chestnuts, cherries, quinces, walnuts, apricots, plums, almonds, figs, dates, and melons of both sorts exceeding fair and of incomparable sweetness; also flowers rare to the eye, sweet to the smell, and useful in physic. The earth dry, but green; the air salubrious, though sharp a little."

The Jaipur carpet permits the establishment of a relative chronology of the known garden rugs. The Figdor rug, which is a simplified copy of a true garden carpet, shows many stylistic analogies with the carpet at the Jaipur Museum and should also be assigned to the beginning of the seventeenth century. All the other known garden rugs, mentioned above, are no doubt later than the Figdor rug.

M. S. DIMAND

A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MIHRAB  
FROM ISFAHAN

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has recently acquired<sup>1</sup> a mihrab<sup>2</sup> in faïence mosaic

<sup>1</sup> The writer is grateful to Dr. Maurice S. Dimand, Curator of Near Eastern Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for the opportunity to publish this mihrab; to Mr. Arthur Upham Pope, Director of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, for the opportunity to assemble the following material while a member of the staff of the Architectural Survey Expedition to Iran in 1939, and for his kind permission to publish the architectural data; to Mr. Donald N. Wilber of the expedition staff for his valuable assistance in collecting the material.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. No. 39.20. Published by M. S. Dimand, "A XIV Century Prayer Niche of Faïence Mosaic," *Bull. Metropolitan Mus. Art*, XXXIV (1939), No. 6, 136–37.

In 1931 it was exhibited at the International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy of Arts in Lon-





FIG. 12



FIG. 13

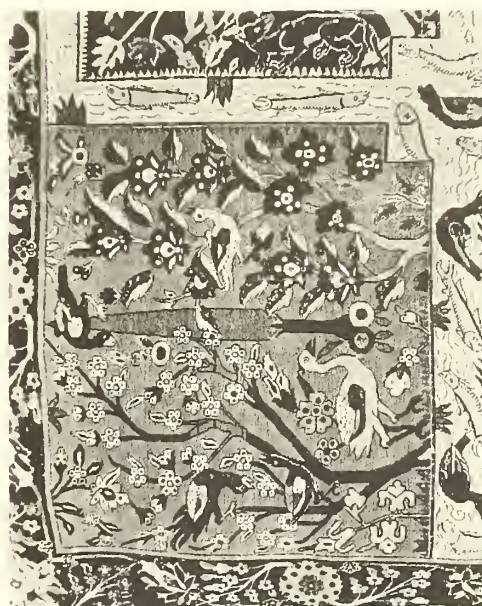


FIG. 14



FIG. 15

FIGS. 12-15—PLOTS IN FOUR-PLOT SECTION  
GARDEN CARPET, JAIPUR MUSEUM





(Fig. 1), which is of special interest as the only major example of architectural faïence mosaic<sup>3</sup> in an American collection, and provides an important link in the history of the development of Iranian architectural faïence and ornament.<sup>4</sup>

The fourteenth century constitutes a critical period in the evolution of architectural faïence: although this development was by no means confined to the Isfahan district, since Yezd and Kerman possess fine examples from the same period,<sup>5</sup> it is only from the unbroken series of extant remains in the Isfahan region that its course can be reconstructed.

The provenance of the Metropolitan mihrab is reported to be the madrasa Imāmī in Isfahan, a small college in the vicinity of the old Masdjid-i Djāmi'.<sup>6</sup> This beautiful monument is a four-ivān plan, with a two-storied arcade built around a

rectangular court, and a square domed sanctuary situated behind the kiblah ivān (Fig. 2).

An examination of the sanctuary of the madrasa in May, 1939,<sup>7</sup> contributed some corroboration of the reported provenance. The center of the kiblah wall of the sanctuary displays a space ca. 2.75 m. (8 feet, 11 inches) in width with a modern filling brickwork differing in character from the original brickwork of the chamber (original brickwork: size of bricks, 0.215 by 0.06 cm.; rising joints, 0.04 cm., with decorated stucco end plugs; horizontal joints, 0.005 cm.; filling brickwork: size of bricks, 0.25 by 0.06 cm.; rising joints, 0.01 cm.; horizontal joints, 0.01 cm.), its juncture with the original wall surfaces clearly marked by fractures. The mihrab is 2.29 m. (7 feet 6 inches) in width, and its height would also conform to the available space. The brickwork of the chamber has been whitewashed.

More decisive for the confirmation of the provenance, however, are the correspondences between the Metropolitan mihrab and the madrasa faïence in style, in the character of the ornament, and in the color systems (Figs. 1, 3, and 4).

The mihrab (height, 3.46 m. by 2.30 m./11 feet 4 inches by 7 feet 6 inches) consists of a pointed arched niche of semicircular plan framed in a splayed molding and the whole enclosed within a slightly recessed rectangular panel; bordering the entire motif is a rectangular frame, broken to form an oblique angle in plan.

The interior of the semicircular niche is faced at the base with a geometrical band composed of juxtaposed cross tiles and half-star tiles. Above this rises the main field of the niche, composed of a double system of interlacing patterns, the primary scheme consisting of interlacing arabesque quatrefoils, the secondary of interlacing diagonal squares; interrupting the center of the field is a rectangular inscription panel, bordered by a sim-

don (Cat. No. 57), where it was attributed to the end of the fourteenth century. *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 7th January to 7th March 1931* (3rd ed. rev.; London, 1931), p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> For studies of this technique, see F. Bazl, "Ceramic Art in Islamic times. D. Contemporary Techniques," *Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), II, 1706; Dimand, *op. cit.*, p. 137; A. U. Pope, "Architectural Ornament," *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1332 ff; D. N. Wilber, "The Development of Mosaic Faïence in Islamic Architecture in Iran," *Ars Islamica*, VI (1939), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Recent literature on the development of architectural faïence in Iran includes A. Godard, "Les Monuments de Marāgha," *Publ. soc. études iraniennes*, No. 7 (1934), *passim*; A. Godard, "Notes complémentaires sur les tombeaux de Marāgha (Ādharbaidjān)," *Athār-é Īrān*, I (1936), Fasc. 1, *passim*. See also footnote 3.

<sup>5</sup> Particularly the Masdjid-i Djāmi' in Yezd (A. U. Pope, "The Fourteenth Century," *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1091-93; IV, Pl. 443); the Masdjid-i Djāmi' in Kerman (*ibid.*, II, 1099-1102; IV, Pl. 451A; V, Pl. 534); and the Masdjid-i Pā Minār, Kerman (*ibid.*, II, 1102; IV, Pl. 451B; V, Pl. 545B).

<sup>6</sup> An old photograph in the archives of the Iranian Institute shows the mihrab *in situ*, but only a small part of the surrounding brickwork is included in the photograph.

<sup>7</sup> By the Architectural Survey Expedition of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology.

ple geometrical band and containing a cursive inscription and a secondary Kufic inscription on a ground of arabesque scrollwork. The upper third of the niche displays a continuous interlacing band decorated with a geometrical pattern, the band forming irregular geometrical compartments, some filled with floral forms, some with geometrical interlaces. The splayed molding framing the niche bears a Kufic inscription with regularly placed simulated shafts. In the spandrels above the niche appears a double scheme of geometrical arabesque interlaces, the one system consisting of six-pointed stars and smaller hexagons, the other system a more elaborate interlace based on six-pointed stars; interspersed within the basic interlaces are floral and simple geometrical forms. The spandrels are enclosed by a narrow geometrical framing band. An inscription in cursive script, enclosed in a narrow geometrical border appears on the outer rectangular frame.<sup>8</sup>

The basic color scheme consists of white, light blue, and dark blue, with secondary elements in yellow (manganese brown) and dark green. The dark blue is irregular and varied in color, sometimes almost black, and the surface of the glaze is pitted. The yellow, difficult to control in the firing, ranges from dark to light mustard, and the green also varies considerably; the surface of the green glaze is pitted. The whites and light blues are well controlled in the firing, and the surface of their glazes is smooth.

The mihrab is in excellent condition; in minor areas, especially at the base, there are modern repairs.

On the basis of an inscription on the façade of the mausoleum of Bābā Ḳāsim (situated a few hundred meters from the madrasa), dated 741 H. (1340–41 A.D.), which refers to “the completion

of these edifices,” André Godard<sup>9</sup> identified the madrasa Imāmī as one of the edifices in question, because of its proximity and because “the color of the tiles and the style of the ornament are similar in every respect to those of the tomb of Bābā Ḳāsim.”<sup>10</sup>

On an inscription in one of the court bays of the madrasa itself, Godard read the unit “five” and the first letter of the hundreds, “seven,” hence 7–5 H.; he argues that only 715, 725, or 735 H. would conform with the 741 H. *terminus ad quem* of the mausoleum inscription, and selects 725 H. (1324–25 A.D.) as the date best fitting the allotted space.<sup>11</sup>

The 1939 examination of the two monuments in question yields a correction of this dating. A blocked-up portal in the east wall of the tomb chamber of the mausoleum of Bābā Ḳāsim was discovered. Through the courtesy of the Service des Antiquités this was opened, revealing a small square chamber immediately adjoining the tomb chamber; this was apparently one of several, of no architectural interest and of uncertain function, but belonging to the period of the tomb chamber. This, then, accounts for the reference in the mausoleum inscription to “these edifices” and dissociates the mausoleum from the question of the madrasa’s date.<sup>12</sup>

Since the architectural and ornamental fea-

<sup>9</sup> “Madrasa Imāmī” and “Le Tombeau de Bābā Ḳāsem,” *Athār-é Īrān*, II (1937), Fasc. 1, 37–38, 41 n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

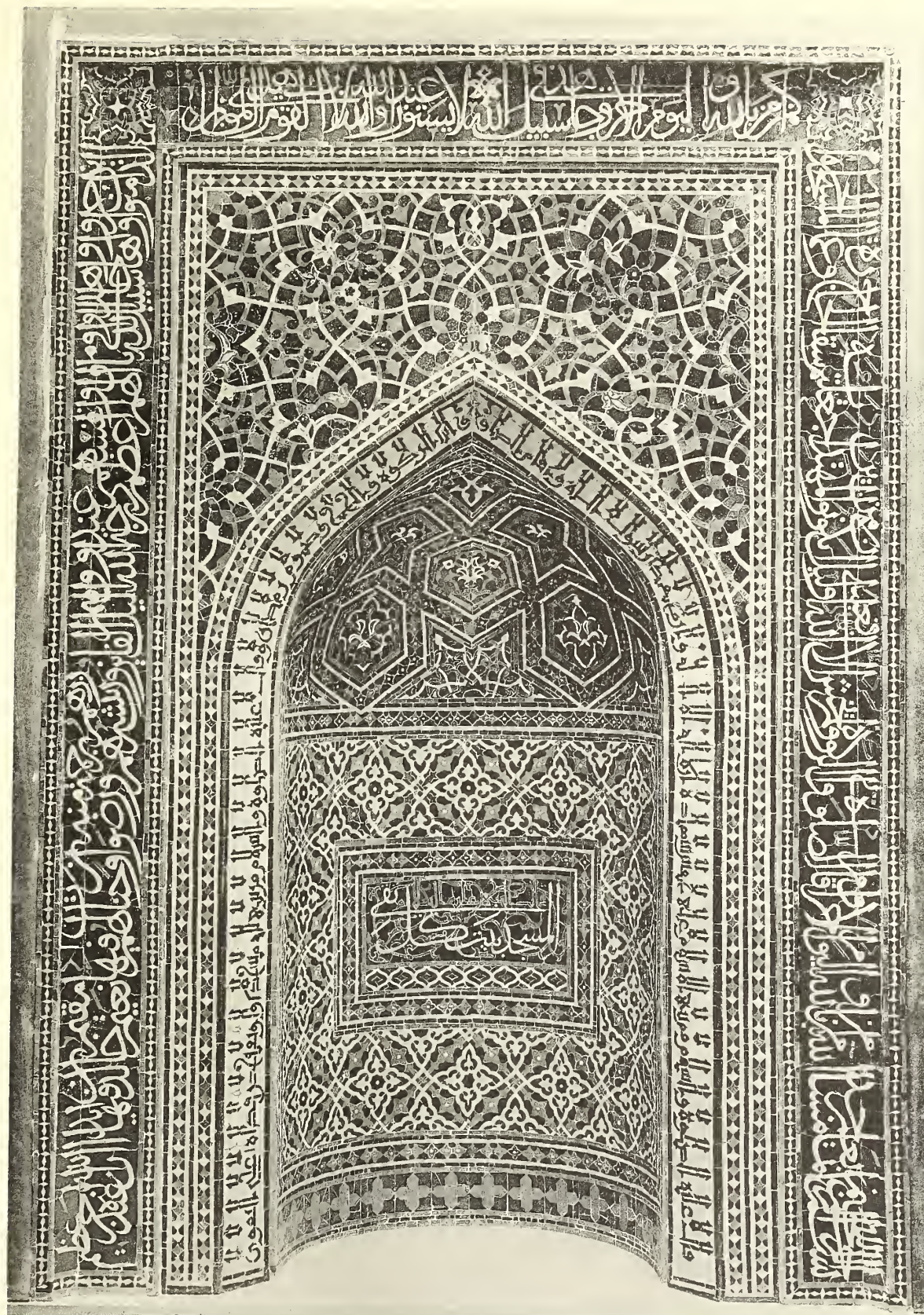
<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the madrasa lies several hundred meters to the west of the mausoleum, and a narrow lane immediately to the west of the latter intervenes: the exterior angles of the walls of the mausoleum on the lane side are constructed of specially molded curved bricks which protect these corners, indicating that this lane always existed, so that no structure could ever have connected the two buildings directly.

Also, it would be extremely unusual for the building inscription of a minor structure to refer to the construction of a larger and more important structure, at least in such a casual and obscure manner.

<sup>8</sup> The outer frame of the mihrab is inscribed with Koran, IX, 18–22; the kufic inscription, and the two inscriptions within the niche are pious phrases.





PHOTOGRAPH: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

FIG. 1—MIHRAB, FAÏENCE MOSAIC, ISFAHAN, FOURTEENTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



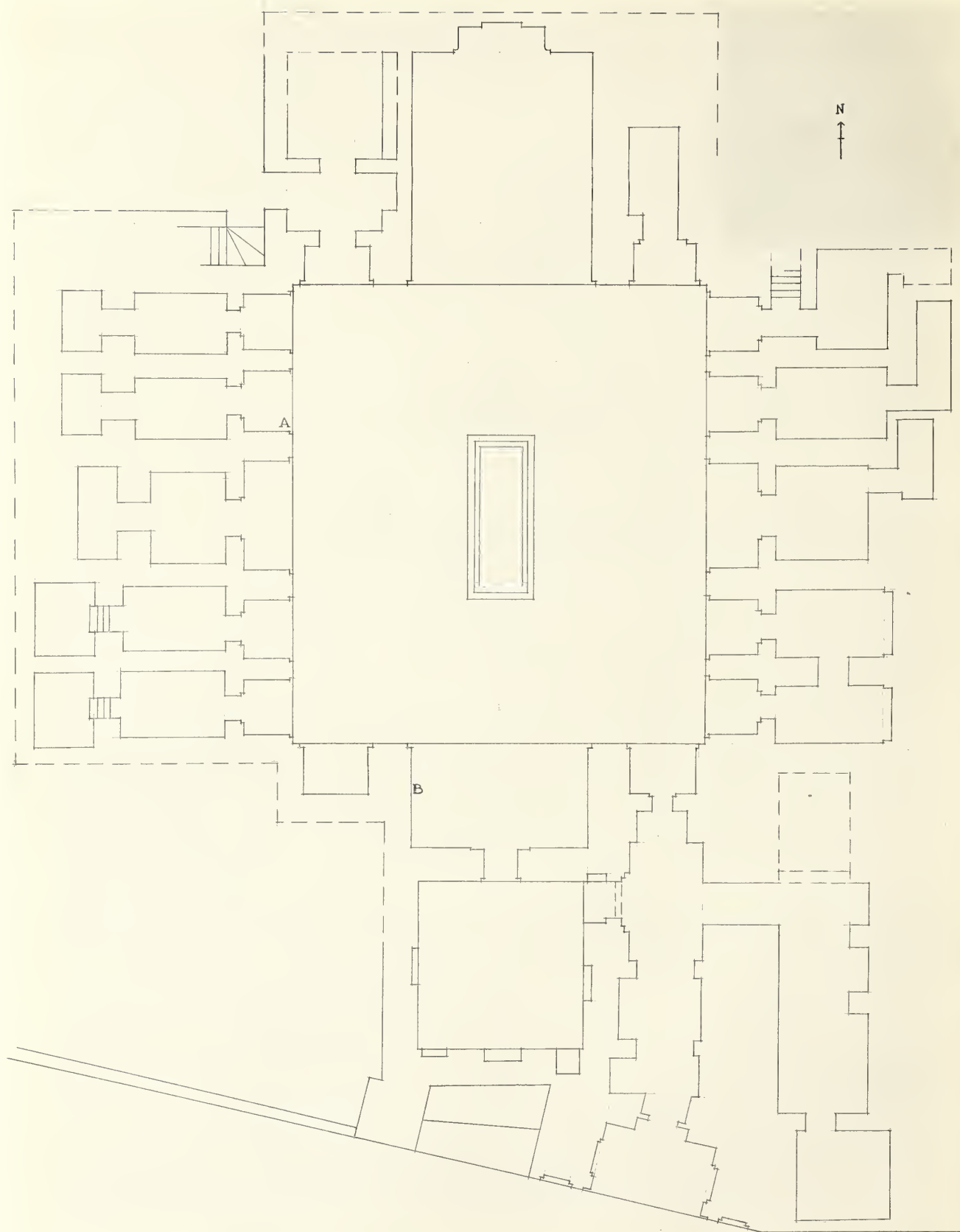
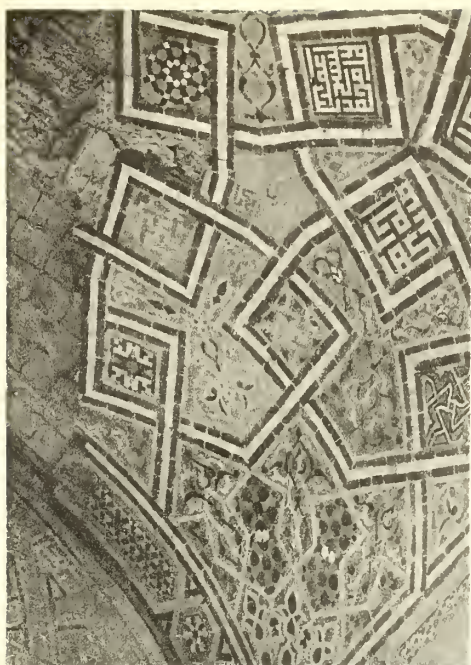
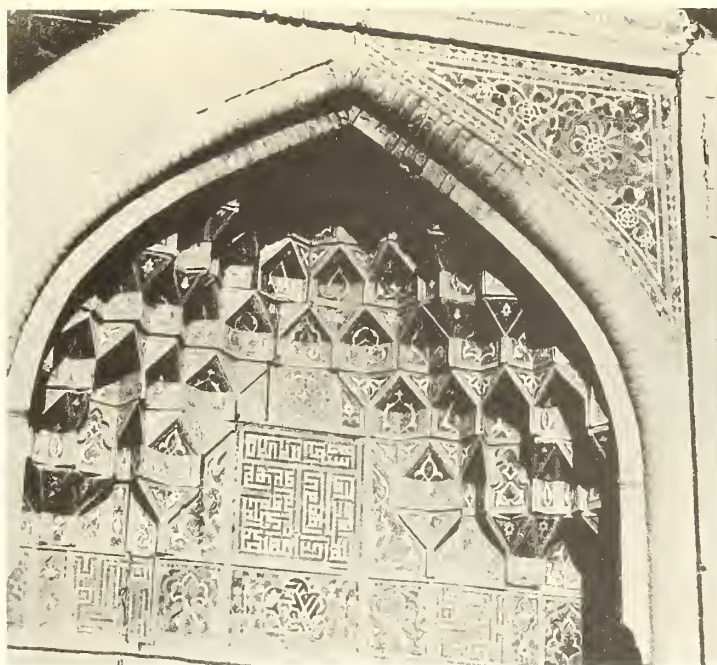


FIG. 2—PLAN, MADRASA IMĀMĪ, ISFAHAN, 1354 A.D.  
(MEASURED AND DRAWN BY DONALD N. WILBER)





PHOTOGRAPH: IRANIAN INSTITUTE  
FIG. 3—VAULT, NORTH ĪVĀN



PHOTOGRAPH: IRANIAN INSTITUTE  
FIG. 4—FAÏENCE MOSAIC, NORTH ĪVĀN



PHOTOGRAPH: IRANIAN INSTITUTE  
FIG. 5—INSCRIPTION DATED 1354 A.D., COURT, WEST FACE



PHOTOGRAPH: IRANIAN INSTITUTE  
FIG. 6—INSCRIPTION DATED 1354 A.D., KIBLAH ĪVĀN

MADRASA IMĀMĪ, ISFAHAN



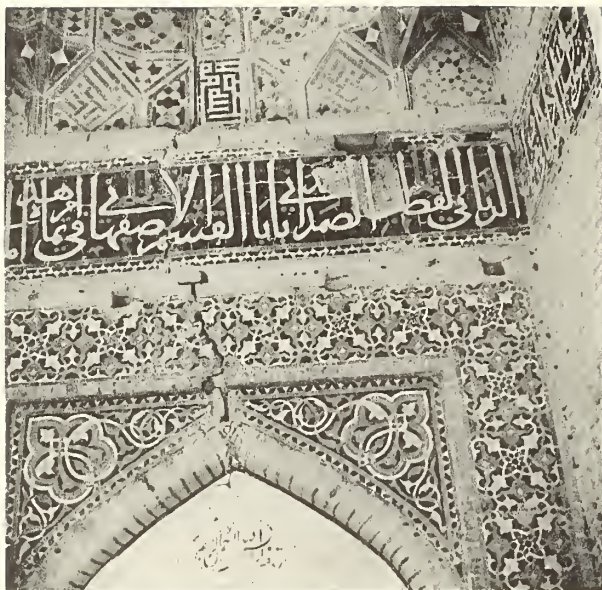


FIG. 7—ENTRANCE, MAUSOLEUM OF BĀBĀ KĀSIM  
ISFAHAN, 1341



FIG. 8—FAÏENCE MOSAIC DATED 1366, MASDĪD-I  
DJĀMĪ, ISFAHAN

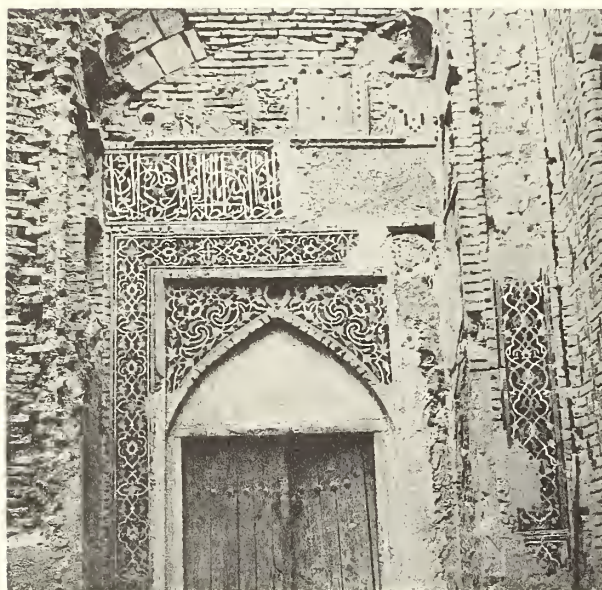


FIG. 9—INTERIOR PORTAL, MUZAFFARID MADRASA  
MASDĪD-I DJĀMĪ, ISFAHAN, 1358-1374

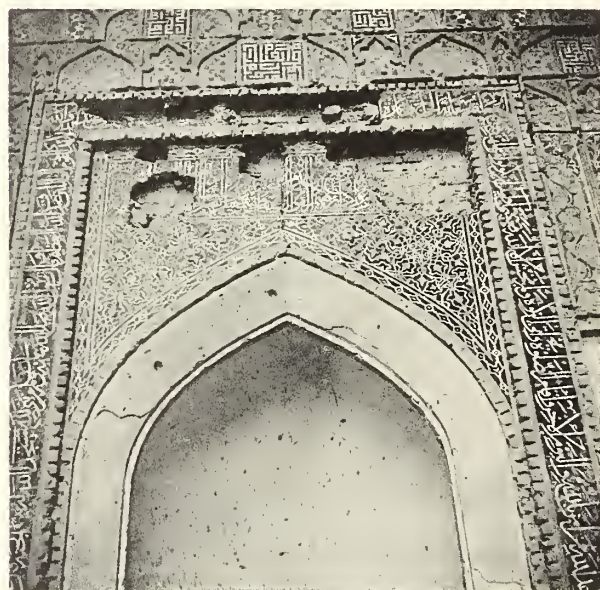


FIG. 10—MIHRAB, DATED 1376-1377, MUZAFFARID  
MADRASA, MASDĪD-I DJĀMĪ, ISFAHAN



tures of the madrasa appeared to be somewhat later in character than those of the mausoleum, the inscription in the court bay of the madrasa (*Fig. 5; Fig. 2 at A*) was restudied, revealing new data. Following Koran, XLVIII, 29 (from *dhālika* to end), is:

في سنة خم[س] و خم[سين] و سابعم[ئة]

Thus, after the words "In the year," the first two letters of the unit numeral (*khā, mīm*) are visible; of the tens, the first two letters (*khā, mīm*); of the hundreds, the first letter (*sīn*), hence: "In the year seven hundred and fifty-five" (1354 A.D.). This dating is more consistent with the character of the monument than the 725 H. date.

An additional date was found, which strengthens the reading of the first. In the kiblāh ivān, inserted as a repair into the horizontal frieze of Koranic content, there is a fragment (*Fig. 6; Fig. 2 at B*) with the text:

[في] سنة [خم]س [و] خمسين و سابعم[ئة]

"[In] the year seven hundred and fifty-five" (1354 A.D.). Here the end of the *sīn* of the unit is visible; the words "and fifty;" and part of the *sīn* of the hundreds.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> A signature also exists, recorded in rectangular kufic in a faïence mosaic panel in the vault of the north ivān (*Fig. 3*). The text is: عمل محمد بن عمر السكي

"Work of Muhammad, son of Omar . . . ." [one word, which can be read in several ways]. It is impossible to ascertain whether this refers to the architect or the tile worker, although the latter is more probable in view of its position. Although early Iranian Islamic monumental inscriptions preserve the names of many individuals engaged in the building operations, there exist no contemporary documents describing the building procedure itself, and no contemporary plans or sketchbooks, in contrast to the situation in Western medieval art. Even when a designation follows the name of a craftsman, it is usually impossible to define his actual function, or to determine whether he was engaged in a practical or a supervisory capacity, owing to the indefinite character of the building terminology employed. This fact makes all medieval Iranian architecture practically anonymous, and building

After the death of Abū Sa'īd in 736 H. (1335–36 A.D.), the dissolution of the Mongol empire was rapid, and Iran passed through one of the most chaotic periods in her political history, with pretenders contesting for the power throughout the country. Southern Iran (Yezd, Kerman, and Fars) fell under the authority of the Muzaffarids; northern and western Iran (Azerbaijan and Iraq) were held by the Djalā'irids. Isfahan, sporadically under Muzaffarid control, was committed to a political obscurity unusual in her annals. Almost the only time in which the city figures in contemporary history, and then in a minor role, is as the scene of a siege in 755 H. (1354 A.D.) at the hands of Mubārīz al-Dīn Muhammad, the Muzaffarid, when his most persistent enemy, the Emir Abū Ishāq b. Mahmud Shah Indjū, took refuge in Isfahan. Evidently, the city did not surrender until shortly before the capture of Abū Ishāq by Muhammad in 757 H. (1356 A.D.) or 758 H. (1357 A.D.). Isfahan plays no further part until the fateful entrance of Timur's officials into the city to collect tribute; their assassination by the populace instigated Timur to the massacre of an enormous part of the population in 790 H. (1388 A.D.); and in 795 H. (1393 A.D.) he exterminated the Muzaffarids themselves. Thus, it was at the very time of the siege of Isfahan by Muhammad that the madrasa was constructed.

The analogies between the faïence of the madrasa and that of the mausoleum of Bābā Kāsim (*Fig. 7*) are sufficiently explicit to have suggested their attribution to the same master,<sup>14</sup> which may well be the case, but the divergencies endorse the later dating of the madrasa. Stylistically, the faïence mosaic of the mausoleum is beginning to depart from the Seljuk–early Mongol predilection for angular, geometrical forms; the faïence of the madrasa illustrates a further

methods are scarcely known save from direct study of the monument itself.

<sup>14</sup> A. U. Pope, "Architectural Ornament," II, 1328–29.

relaxation of the earlier severity and angularity (*Figs. 1 and 4*). In the mausoleum the scale of the ornament is large and bold; floral elements appear, in the form of stylized trefoil palmettes; the large-scale scrollwork displays strong thick stems, and the foliations are rather small, short, and stubby. In the madrasa the scale of the patterned elements is smaller, the stems of the scrollwork thinner, and the drawing more delicate, the foliations freer and more graceful; added to the trefoil palmette are two new floral types: the seminaturalistic peony flower (*Fig. 1*), and the stylized composite palmette which takes various forms (*Fig. 4*). Very important is the difference in the colors employed: in the mausoleum, light blue, dark blue, and white, with a sparing use of yellow (manganese brown); in the madrasa, light blue, dark blue, and white, with a more generous employment of yellow (manganese brown), and the addition of green.

Emphasis on a revetment style had come to play the guiding role in fourteenth-century Iranian architecture, and faïence revetments now predominated. Early fourteenth-century architectural remains attest to the employment of revetments consisting of monochrome tiles, luster tiles, tiles with underglaze painted decoration and with overglaze painting, tiles with molded relief decoration, and mosaic techniques in incomplete and complete faïence mosaic.<sup>15</sup>

The early fourteenth century effected the production of complete faïence mosaic in Iran proper:<sup>16</sup> it first occurs in fragments from the buildings of *Shām* and the *Rab'-i Rashīdī* near Tabriz, around the turn of the century, and in

Period I of the mausoleum of Olčaitu in Sul-tānīya, begun after 705 H. (1305 A.D.).

As dated documents in the development of architectural faïence in the Isfahan district, the mihrab and the faïence of the madrasa help to complete a chronology of dated examples of faïence mosaic:

715 H. (1315-1316 A.D.): *Ashtardjān*, *Masdjid*.  
72- H. (132- A.D.): Isfahan, *Imāmzāda Dja'far*.  
741 H. (1340-41 A.D.): Isfahan, mausoleum of *Bābā Kāsim* (*Fig. 7*).

755 H. (1354 A.D.): Isfahan, madrasa *Imāmī*.  
759-776 H. (1358-74 A.D.): Isfahan, *Masdjid-i Djāmi'*, Muzaffarid madrasa, interior portal adjoining southeast entrance to mosque (*Fig. 9*).

768 H. (1366 A.D.): Isfahan, *Masdjid-i Djāmi'*, exterior portal adjoining small dome chamber (*Fig. 8*).

768, 778 H. (1366-67, 1376-77 A.D.): Isfahan, *Masdjid-i Djāmi'*, Muzaffarid Madrasa (*Fig. 10*).

This list provides striking evidence that important building activity continued in Iran uninterrupted by the dissolution of Mongol authority and the turbulent rule of the Muzaffarids. It took the cataclysm of Timur's invasion to check the course of the development, without, however, destroying it. The list attests too to the vitality of artistic effort in the Isfahan area which, under Muzaffarid rule, fell into political obscurity and yet presents a more extensive chronology of fine monuments in these years than any other region in Iran.

MARY E. CRANE

<sup>15</sup> Complete faïence mosaic may be defined as a mosaic formed entirely of units covered with surface glazes of various colors, applied to an architectural surface; incomplete faïence mosaic consists of glazed units employed in conjunction with backgrounds and/or complementary units of stucco, unglazed terra cotta, clay, or brick. See Wilber, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>16</sup> In this respect, Asia Minor was far ahead of Iran, as Wilber has pointed out (*op. cit.*, 39-40). For the Asia Minor material, see G. Migeon and A. Sakisian, "Les Faïences d'Asie-Mineure du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. I. La Céramique seldjoukide du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XLIII (1923), 241-52.



SMALL OBJECTS OF SEMIPRECIOUS STONE  
FROM THE MUGHAL PERIOD

In a small but important group of works of Eastern art in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, there are two spoons, a fork, and three rings of semiprecious stone. Some of the pieces were collected as early as the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries by members of the Hapsburg dynasty.<sup>1</sup> They are here illustrated for the first time (*Figs. 1-3*). Since they are of exquisite workmanship and are in an excellent state of preservation, apart from one broken prong of the fork, they deserve some study.

The rock crystal spoon and fork are of the same size and make (*Fig. 1*), and thus belong together. The bowl of the spoon is of an unusual shape, resembling a pear cut in halves. The prongs of the fork converge slightly. The handles of both the spoon and the fork are hexagonal. The bowl of the spoon and the prongs of the fork are joined to the handles by gold filigree mountings set with rubies en cabochon in a technique characteristic of the Mughal art. The handles are decorated with similar mountings.

The second spoon (*Fig. 2*) is of heliotrope (bloodstone). With the exception of some details, its shape is the same as that of the rock crystal spoon. The design of the filigree mountings is distinguished from the familiar examples of Mughal art by the predominance of triangles and squares. Only tiny scrolls of Indian style appear in the spaces between the geometrical patterns. The geometrical motifs are of Western character, and so are the globular tops of the handles.

There are jade spoons of Mughal workman-

ship in the Indian Museum, London,<sup>2</sup> which by their technique are related to the Vienna spoons, but their style is different. The same is true of an Indian spoon of carnelian and moss agate in the Cope bequest in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (No. 722—1903).

Certain types of Burgundian spoons and forks of the fifteenth century resemble the Mughal ones of the Vienna Museum. There are Burgundian spoons and forks of rock crystal in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna,<sup>3</sup> and in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>4</sup> They have hexagonal handles and the bowls of the spoons are similar in shape to the Mughal ones.

No direct influence of late Gothic objects of Burgundian origin on the art of the Mughal period can be assumed because of the gap of time between the two periods. But the Burgundian forms of forks and spoons have spread probably over the neighboring countries, subsequently undergoing some alterations caused by the change of styles. A heliotrope spoon of German workmanship dating from the sixteenth century is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (No. 1710). A German spoon and a fork of rock crystal belonging to the Bernal collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>5</sup> date from the second half of the seventeenth century and have handles of a partially hexagonal form. The prongs converge like those of the Mughal fork in Vienna. It might be assumed that there were more connecting links between the Burgundian fifteenth-century spoon and fork and the German seventeenth-century ones than the German heliotrope spoon of the sixteenth century in Western Europe, especially

<sup>2</sup> E.g., No. 664—1874.

<sup>3</sup> H. Kohlhaussen, "Niederländisch Schmelzwerk," *Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsaml.*, LII (1931), 161, Fig. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Pourtalès Collection, No. 84—1865.

<sup>5</sup> C. T. P. Bailey, *Knives and Forks* (London and Boston, 1927), Fig. 48.

<sup>1</sup> W. Born, "Some Eastern Objects from the Hapsburg Collections," *Burlington Mag.*, LXIX (1936), 269-76; *idem*, "More Eastern Objects Formerly in the Hapsburg Collections," *ibid.*, LXXV (1939), 64-70.

in the Netherlands which had been parts of Burgundy in the late Middle Ages.

The East Indian companies, founded by the Dutch and the English in the first years of the seventeenth century, supplanted the Portuguese, who had controlled the Indian trade during the sixteenth century. During the reign of *Djahāngīr* (1605–27) an English embassy visited India for the first time. The Dutch or the English probably brought spoons and forks of semiprecious stones to the Mughal court, where they served as models for native craftsmen. Occasional European influences can be traced in Mughal art, especially in architecture. The objects illustrated here owe their peculiar shape and design to the blend of Western influence and Eastern tradition. They might have been made during the reign of *Djahāngīr*, when the contact with the Dutch was just made, for their style approaches the Mughal style of the period.

The three jeweled rings of green jade (*Fig. 3*), have identical forms, and their workmanship is obviously Mughal Indian. The shape of the rings is peculiar. On one side they look like the familiar kind of finger rings, on the opposite side they are beveled. A ring of this shape was worn by an archer upon the thumb of his left hand to protect it from being injured by the bowstring after the discharge of the arrow. As early as the Han period Chinese archers wore thumb rings of jade.<sup>6</sup> The British Museum owns a collection of plain archer thumb rings from Persia and India. In the Mughal period these rings were decorated in the taste of the time. Two of the three Viennese rings (*Fig. 3a, c*) are decorated with golden filigree tendrils ending in flowers which are set with rubies en cabochon. The design of the tendrils is naturalistic. The third ring (*Fig. 3b*) has a similar decoration on its narrow side. It is hybrid in character. Its bevel is ornamented with golden arabesques of

an entirely abstract design. Probably archers' thumb rings in India were first plain imitations of Chinese models and later on were painted with arabesques. Similar arabesques are found among the pietra dura decorations of the mausoleum of *I'timād al-Dawla* in Agra, which was built between 1622 and 1628.<sup>7</sup> A Chinese jade vase of the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–96) in the Oriental collection of the Vienna Museum<sup>8</sup> is studded with rubies en cabochon. This decoration was added to the vessel by a craftsman of a Mughal court in India. The effect of the decoration is even more hybrid than is that of the thumb ring, for the rubies form garlands which cross the carved decoration of the vase. Possibly the thumb ring is earlier in origin than is the vase, but undoubtedly it has a similar blend of Chinese form and Indian decoration. It might have been made in the second half of the seventeenth century under Shah Aurangzeb (1658–1707), and the two other rings, which are jeweled all around, consequently might be of a slightly later origin.

In 1936 a table clock in the form of an elephant bearing a miniature building was among the items in the sale of an English country house and is now in a private collection in that country. It is here illustrated for the first time (*Fig. 4*). The elephant is of rock crystal and bears a kind of crown decorated with enamel on its head (*Fig. 5*). On the façade of the building on its back there is a dial; the building is flanked by turrets which contain glass cylinders probably used for perfume. On its roof is a domed kiosk in which is seated a doll dressed in a costume of a vaguely oriental character. The walls are cased with lapis lazuli and framed with gilt bronze rims ending in enameled masks of satyrs. The enamel dial is part of a caseless watch, which can be

<sup>7</sup> H. Glück und E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Berlin, 1925), Fig. 336.

<sup>8</sup> Born, "Some Eastern Objects from the Hapsburg Collections," note 1, p. 275, Pl. II, C.

<sup>6</sup> H. R. Bishop, *The Bishop Collection. Investigations and Studies in Jade* (New York, 1906), II, 109, No. 339.



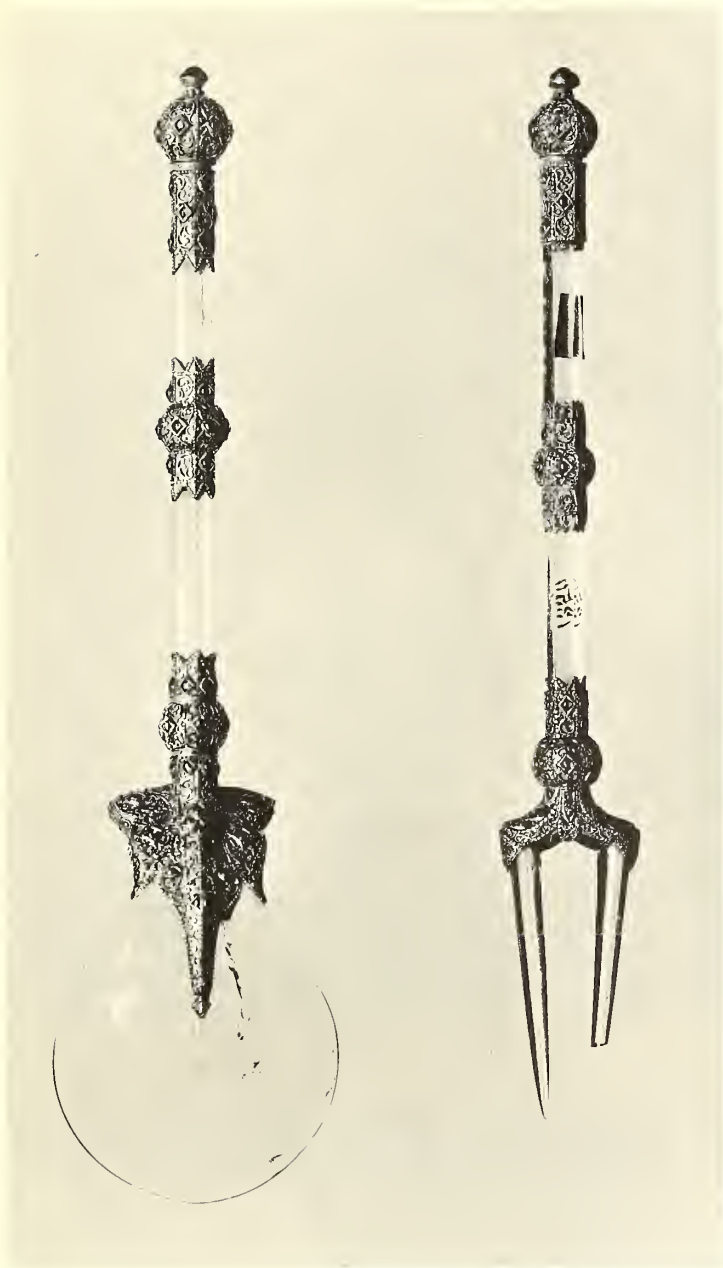


FIG. 1—FORK AND SPOON, ROCK CRYSTAL



FIG. 2—SPOON, HELIOTROPE



FIG. 3—ARCHERS' THUMB RINGS, JADE

VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM



FIG. 4—ROCK CRYSTAL ELEPHANT WITH EUROPEAN CLOCK



FIG. 5—ENAMELED CROWN OF THE ELEPHANT

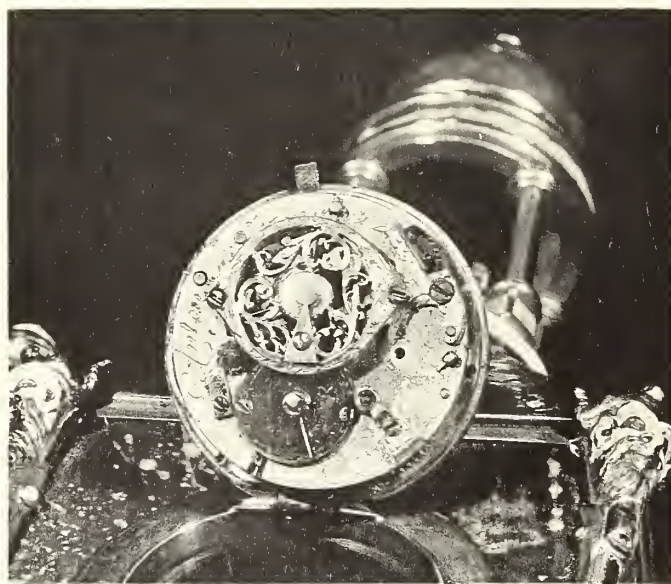


FIG. 6—DETAIL OF CLOCKWORK



lifted up (*Fig. 6*). The back of the watch bears an engraved inscription in German: "Anton Sandermeier in Raab." Raab, or Győr in Hungarian, is a town on the Danube. On the authority of the archives of Győr, Sandermeier, who was probably of Austrian origin, acquired civic rights in the city on December 15, 1801. Neither the dates of his life nor any other works of his hand are known. The slightly unsymmetrical pattern of the plate of the clockwork is typical of Swiss watches made at the end of the eighteenth century. Swiss watches were exported, and were sold by foreign clockmakers in that period. Sandermeier probably designed the case, bought a Swiss clockwork, and engraved his signature on it.

The case is obviously suggested by a mosque, although the masks, possibly fragments of an older object, are Renaissance in style and the turrets are decorated with enameled borders in empire style. An oriental vogue swept Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century, influencing literature deeply and occasionally touching architecture and applied arts. The clockcase must have been made about 1810. Table clocks in the form of elephants bearing elaborate clockcases were made by German clockmakers as early as the Renaissance and in France as late as the rococo period. Thus, in a time of reawakened interest in the Orient, being by chance available, this elephant statuette of unmistakably Eastern origin was turned into a table clock.

The elephant is eight and one-half inches high and is hollow. Its back forms a lid and can be lifted. A carved caparison covers the elephant's back and head and shows by its decoration that the object was made in India. The elephant is represented true to life with the exception of its fan-shaped conventionalized ears.

The animal wears silver shoes, with words in German scratched on the soles; thus, possibly, they were made by Sandermeier, although they do not resemble the style of the case.

The crown on the elephant's head is a semi-

precious stone surrounded by a flower pattern executed in enamel, typical of Russian and Transylvanian seventeenth-century objects. Consequently, the elephant must be no later than this century.

Pictorial representations of elephants, with conventionalized fan-shaped ears, are well known from Mughal miniatures.<sup>9</sup> Some elephant-shaped brass candlesticks with similar ears in the Indian Museum, London, date from the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> In the Metropolitan Museum, New York, there is a screen of jade supported by two elephants with conventionalized fan-shaped ears and realistic bodies, made in Annam, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Obviously, an Indian prototype characterized by ears of this shape was used by an Indo-Chinese craftsman who followed the tradition of Ch'ien-Lung carvers in China.

Many Indian ornaments and several reliquaries but very few figures of rock crystal are known. The Indian Museum has a rather naturalistic Nepalese rock-crystal figure of the revered Tibetan Lama Tsong-Khapa dating from the seventeenth or eighteenth century (No. 145—1922). Nepal is a borderland between India and Tibet, and a Chinese civilization prevailed in the latter.

Only three Indian rock-crystal animals are known to me: the handle of the lid of a Buddhist reliquary of the third century B.C.,<sup>12</sup> carved in the form of a fish; a hollow statuette of a wild goose or swan of the second century A.D., in the British

<sup>9</sup> "Shah Jahan (1628–58) Hunting." "Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Min. 65, fol. 25. Illustrated in J. Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei* (Klagenfurt 1933). P. 9, Fig. 28.

<sup>10</sup> Grace S. Anderson bequest.

<sup>11</sup> Bishop, *op. cit.*, II, 109, No. 339.

<sup>12</sup> Münsterberg, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte* (Esslingen a.N., 1912), II, 180, and illus. 307.

Museum;<sup>13</sup> and a small elephant in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, related in its style to early Buddhist art.<sup>14</sup> The surface of the Vienna elephant is smooth, whereas the surface of the figure illustrated here faithfully renders the skin of a pachyderm. The fish and the goose are plainly primitive and have nothing in common in their style with the table-clock elephant.

The rock-crystal elephant must have passed through Russia or Transylvania on its way from India to Hungary, for it was decorated with its headress in one of these two east European countries. The period of the "crown" suggests its origin, for until modern times only contemporary objects were imported from the Orient. The elephant dates probably from the seventeenth century, the same period as that of the objects in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Objects of semiprecious stones were highly appreciated by the Mughal emperors. Among many jade and rock-crystal vessels the Indian Museum preserves a jade cup dated 1613 A.D., which bears an inscription referring to the Shah *Djahāngīr* and which in style emulates a Chinese jade cup of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644);<sup>15</sup> the other vessels have forms and decorations of a more independent Indian character. The *Djahāngīr* cup must be considered, therefore, an early example of the carving of precious stones in the Mughal empire. It suggests that after a long gap in this period a revival of the art of carving precious stones took place in India because of a Chinese influence reaching this country through Nepal, Indo-China, and possibly other intermediate areas, as suggested by the Tsong-Khapa

figure and the jade screen referred to above. After having learned the technique from Chinese masters the Indian craftsmen of the Mughal period assimilated European models, as illustrated by the spoons and the fork of the Vienna Museum.

WOLFGANG BORN

#### THREE MONUMENTS AT YAZD-I *KHWAST*

On their way from Isfahan to Persepolis, on August 21, 1934, Dr. Henry Field and his staff had to stay for four days at the picturesque town of Yazd-i *Khwāst*, while I repaired the broken-down car. In addition to measuring and photographing villagers and collecting specimens of the fauna, Dr. Field and Mr. Richard Martin photographed and made a partial plan of the Safawid caravanserai and also photographed the rock perched village and its ruined mosque. Fortunately, these materials were included as valuable by-products in Dr. Field's recent anthropological publication.<sup>1</sup>

The study of the caravanserai inscription in the name of Shah Abbas was intrusted to Dr. Richard Ettinghausen who has given it competent treatment.<sup>2</sup> Although working from very inadequate photographs<sup>3</sup> he added considerably to the previous reading of Browne<sup>4</sup> and found that the calligrapher was the well-known Muhammad Riḍā (Riza) al-Imāmī al-Isfahānī [al-Adhamī], twelve of whose signed architectural inscriptions, dating from 1041 H. to 1085 H., are listed.<sup>5</sup> The inscription is damaged; its date is

<sup>13</sup> F. W. Thomas, "Two Khaposthi Inscriptions from Taxila," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1916, p. 282.

<sup>14</sup> Born, *op. cit.*, p. 275, Pl. II D.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275, and Pl. II B. Cup of dark green jade, Chinese. This situation is similar to that which exists between the Mughal thumb rings illustrated in Fig. 3 and their Chinese models.

<sup>1</sup> H. Field, "Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran," *Anthropol. Ser., Field Mus. Nat. Hist.*, 29 (1939), Nos. 1 and 2, 344 and 349 (description of caravanserai); 344 (its half plan, Fig. 16 lacks scale); Pls. 46, Figs. 1, 2, 47, 48 Figs. 1, 2 (its illus.); 332 (description of mosque); Pls. 44, 45, Fig. 1 (illus.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix F (pp. 568–72).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls. 46 and 47.

<sup>4</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians* (2d ed.; London, 1927), p. 246.

<sup>5</sup> Field, *op. cit.*, pp. 570, 572.



missing. While noting the absence of the word *al-thānī* (the second) following the name of Shah Abbas, Dr. Ettinghausen, with commendable caution, let the period of the known activity of the calligrapher suggest Shah Abbas II (1052–77 H. or 1642–66 A.D.) as the ruler, rather than Shah Abbas the Great (996–1038 H. or 1587–1629 A.D.). Evidence from the travel literature indicates that a definite choice is possible. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reported that in 1327 travelers put up at a ribāṭ outside Yazd *Khāṣ*.<sup>6</sup> The Spanish ambassador Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa passed the night of April 15, 1618, without comfort in poor lodgings at *Hiesdegas*, staying in the same house on August 30, 1619, on his return.<sup>7</sup> Two years later, in October, 1621, that prince of travelers, Pietro della Valle, stopped at *Izdchast* only for want of a nearer manzil.<sup>8</sup> From their experiences it is not unreasonable to suppose that the splendid ribāṭ where Ibn Baṭṭūṭa rested had fallen into ruin and that the present caravanserai was not yet built. A few years later, early in April, 1628, [new style], the amusing young Thomas Herbert, in the suite of the ill-fated English ambassador Sir Dodmore Cotton and accompanied by Sir Robert Sherley, was at “*Yezdecawz*. . . where is the best Carrouns-raw about her[e].”<sup>9</sup> This, the first mention of the present monument that I have noticed,<sup>10</sup> dates it

<sup>6</sup> “A l’extérieur de la ville est un caravansérail [the text gives *ribāṭ*] où logent les voyageurs; il est muni d’une porte de fer et parfaitement fortifié. Dans l’intérieur de cet édifice se trouvent des boutiques, où l’on vend tout ce dont les voyageurs ont besoin. Ce caravansérail a été bâti par l’émir Mohammed chāh Indjou, père du sultan Abou Ishāk, roi de Chîrâz.” Cf., Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages* . . . , (ed. by Defremery and Sanguinetti, 1st ed.; Paris 1853–59), II, 51.

<sup>7</sup> García de Silva y Figueroa, *Comentarios* . . . (Madrid, 1903–4), II, 14, 415.

<sup>8</sup> P. della Valle, *Viaggi* . . . (Brighton, 1845), II, 241.

<sup>9</sup> T. Herbert, *A Relation of Some Years Travaile* . . . (London, 1634), p. 66.

<sup>10</sup> For three centuries, or until about 1927 when the Isfahan–Shiraz motor road was built, practically every

back into the reign of Shah Abbas the Great by at least a year and puts its inscription at the head of the chronological list of the reported work of Muhammad Riḍā al-Imāmī.

In describing the ruined mosque, Dr. Field,<sup>11</sup> repeating Curzon,<sup>12</sup> confused its identity with that of the Imāmzāda Sayyid Ali, which lies outside the village in the cemetery to the northwest, a relationship which my photograph (*Fig.*

traveler on this route found shelter in this sturdy old sarāi. Among the more than twenty-five travelers whom my files show as mentioning it the following may be noted, with the date of visit: the jeweler J. B. Tavernier (Feb. 28, 1665, and in 1667); the famous jeweler of Charles II, Sir J. Chardin (Feb. 6, 1674); J. Fryer (1676); C. le Bruyn (Oct. 30, 1704); then a significant gap of a century to the creator of *Hajji Baba*, J. Morier (Jan. 8, 1809); Wm. Ousley (July 23, 1811); the social reformer J. S. Buckingham (Oct. 17, 1816); J. Johnson (May 11, 1817); and Sir Robert Ker Porter (June 6, 1818). Porter saw on the walls of his room the souvenirs of many preceding travelers, among the oldest of which were: Riberra, 1641; Lorenzo Visang, 1645; A. M., 1653; and another, illegible, of 1690; cf. R. Ker Porter, *Travels* . . . (London, 1818), I, 457. Riberra’s 1641 *depinto* would be the year before Shah Abbas II began his reign.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 332, Pls. 44 and 43 (Fig. 1).

<sup>12</sup> G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London, 1892), II, 67. Although he visited the mosque, Curzon, who was riding *čāpār* and doubtless suffering agonies, probably expanded his travel note from a somewhat ambiguous reference in R. B. M. Binning, *A Journal* . . . (London, 1857), II, 68. In 1674 Chardin saw beneath the dome of the little mosque the sumptuously decorated tomb of an Imāmzāda: “. . . *Cha-Resourg*, [Shah Buzurg?] neveu du fameux *Reza* l’un des douze Imams,” which no one else has reported and of which nothing remains; cf. J. Chardin, *Voyages* . . . (Amsterdam, 1735), II, 131. The eminent authority on Persian literature, E. G. Browne, who visited the structure on March 10, 1887, has described it in some detail and identified it as a mosque, *op. cit.*, p. 248. On my visit of Aug. 24, 1934, I was told by the townspeople that it is the Masdjid-i *Djāmi*. The earliest description which I have noted is that of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, (*op. cit.*, II, 51), who saw the mosque in 1327 and called it the Masdjid-i *Djāmi*.

1) clarifies by showing the dome of the mosque to the far left and the Imāmzāda to the extreme right.<sup>13</sup> The actual Imāmzāda Sayyid Ali (*Fig. 2*) is an unpretentious baked brick structure on an exposed rubble stone foundation. The outer profile of the bulging double dome is a crude echo of that of the Masdjid-i Shaikh Luṭf Allāh at Isfahan, which I presume it follows by fifty years, although details of the building suggest the late eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> The exposed façades of the flattened cube are decorated with triple niches grouped in a faint but unmistakable triumphal arch composition. Adjoining the

shrine to the northwest is a rectangular ante-chamber containing graves that recalls in its relative location the *ḡandīl khāna* in front of the tomb of Shaikh Ṣafī at Ardebil.

The thick, rubble stone walls of the ruined Masdjid-i *Djāmi'*, its small scale, and the archaic profile of the pointed wall arches (*Fig. 3*) suggest that this may be an early Islamic building patterned on a *čahār-ṭāḡ* similar to the little Sasanian monument at Naṭanz.<sup>15</sup> Other elements that may indicate an early date are the primitive squinch with a crude bit of lintel in its corner<sup>16</sup> and the warped pendentive of second radius dome-setting marked off by oversails, the most elementary form of emphasized transition zone that I have observed in Iran (*Fig. 4*). I see no reason for not thinking this mosque a part, at least, of the stone-built and stone-vaulted *Djāmi'* admired by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 1327.<sup>17</sup> Against these arguments for an early dating stand the well-known predilection for archaisms of the Iranian builders, the fact that rubble stone construction has persisted in the village, and the possibility that the dome and squinches may be a repair in the mud brick tradition, a peasant tradition that at times kept surprisingly aloof from the great style changes. Despite these warnings the ruin would have me think it pre-Seljuk, its walls and arches possibly as early as Saffarid.

MYRON BEMENT SMITH

"SIX THOUSAND YEARS OF PERSIAN ART"

THE EXHIBITION OF IRANIAN ART

NEW YORK, 1940

In the history of Near Eastern studies the decade 1930-40 will probably live as the period of exhibitions, especially of those of Iranian art,

<sup>15</sup> Published by A. Godard, "Naṭanz," *Athār-é Īrān*, I (1936), Fasc. 1, 78 ff. and Figs. 52-54.

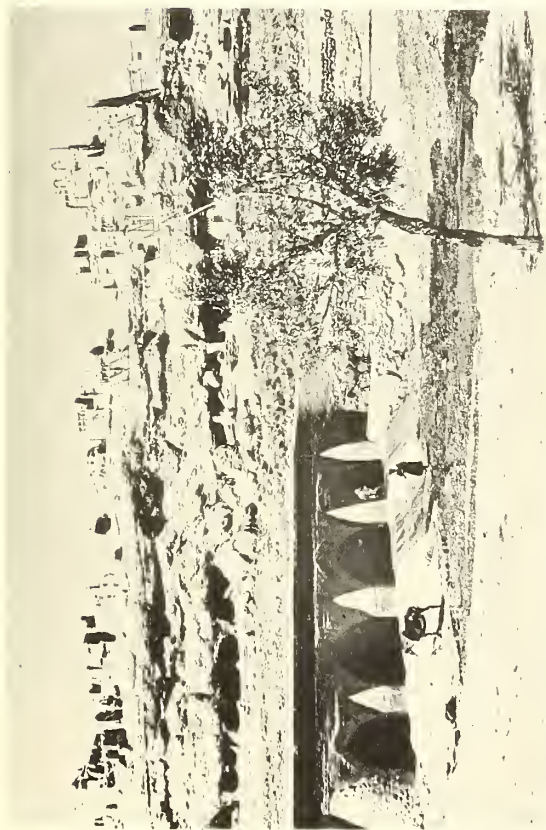
<sup>16</sup> For an early lintel dome setting cf. A. Godard, "Les Monuments du feu," *Athār-é Īrān*, III (1938), Fasc. 1, Figs. 31, 32.

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*

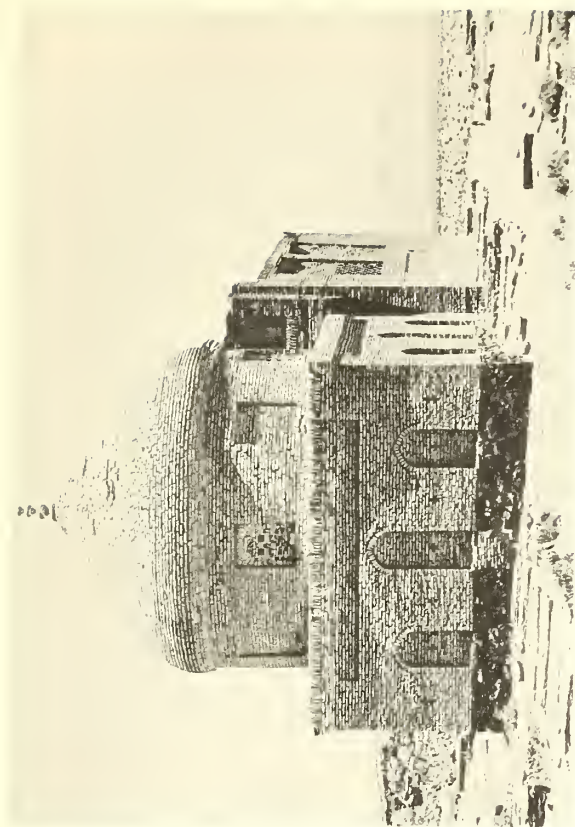
<sup>13</sup> A remarkably accurate topographical view of Yazd-i *Kh̲wāst*, from a sketch drawn by J. Chardin in 1674, shows the *sarāi*, the dome of the *Djāmi'*, and the dome and forehall of the Imāmzāda; cf. his *Voyages* . . . (ed. Langles; Paris, 1811), Atlas, Pl. LI. For an aerial view of ca. 1925, see Walter Mittelholzer, *Persienflug* (Zürich-Leipzig-Berlin, 1926); the view is in group XI (not page numbered); the Imāmzāda is at the extreme right with the old caravan track beside it. In 1665 J. de Thévenot noted several domed tombs, cf. his *Travels* . . . (London, 1687), p. 121. J. Morier called it a mosque; cf. his *A [First] Journey through Persia* . . . (London, 1812), p. 153. On June 6, 1816, J. Buckingham passed the Imāmzāda and called its location "Ali-abad"; cf. his *Travels in Assyria, India and Persia* (London, 1829), p. 250. The next year J. Johnson saw it and identified it correctly as "Imaum Zada Ally," cf. his *Journey from India* . . . (London, 1818), pp. 92, 93. The following year Sir Robert Ker Porter (*op. cit.*, I, 455-56), saw it and named it "Ali Keza." When I photographed the monument on May 30, 1936, the villagers called it Imāmzāda Sayyid Ali. During several visits to the town between the years 1934 and 1937, I never could find any trace of the "... ancient church, in which is preserved a round piece of marble representing the sun . . .," mentioned by J. E. Alexander in his *Travels from India* . . . (London, 1827), p. 145, or of the reputed ruins of a temple with fragments of columns which Baron C. A. de Bode dimly saw Jan. 2, 1841, cf. his *Travels in Luristan* . . . (London, 1845), I, 64.

<sup>14</sup> Thus Johnson's description, "a new built brick cupola and a dwelling" (*op. cit.*, p. 92), tends to confirm my suspicion that either a radical restoration or a rebuilding took place ca. 1800.





PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L27-31d  
FIG. 1—GENERAL VIEW OF NORTHEAST PART OF TOWN FROM SOUTHEAST



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L36-32d  
FIG. 2—IMĀMZĀDA SAYYID ALI, VIEW FROM SOUTH



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L41-3A  
FIG. 3—MASJID-I DJĀMI, ARCH UNDER DOME



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L41-2Ad  
FIG. 4—MASJID-I DJĀMI, SQUINCH IN WEST CORNER





in nearly all parts of the world. There were the large Persian exhibitions in London (1931), Cairo (1934), Leningrad (1935), Paris (1938), and the smaller ones in Detroit (1930), Toledo, O., Brooklyn, N.Y., Warsaw (1935), Zürich (1936), San Francisco (1937), and Baltimore (1940). Further, there were special shows of miniatures in Vienna and Detroit (1935), of textiles in Paris (1934), of Turkish art in Vienna (1932) and at the New York World's Fair (1939), as well as many other exhibitions of similar interest, especially in the United States. The recently opened exhibition "Six Thousand Years of Persian Art" may be for a long time the last one, or at least the last of the very extensive and representative shows. But even in its own right it deserves special consideration as one more great effort to display the artistic treasures that a pivotal country in the East produced during its long and eventful history.

The pieces were gathered by Mr. Arthur Upham Pope in the name of the Iranian Institute and displayed in a large old clubhouse building which was erected for entirely different purposes. Another handicap for the exhibitors was the short preparatory period available for the selection and installation of the exhibits and the editing of the catalogue. The wealth of material, gathered on the whole from museums, private collectors, and art dealers in the United States, was really remarkable and worthy every praise. Unfortunately, there was not always time for the elimination of overrestored and problematical pieces, or the proper integration of a few sections.

The keynote of the exhibition, especially of the two main galleries on the first floor, was colorful sumptuousness, that invited one to sensuous reveling in ever-changing pattern and color schemes. Even a visitor acquainted with Near Eastern galleries in museums must have been overcome by all this "glory." He must have felt, at least for certain periods, a certain amount

of the intoxication which was aimed at. This overwhelming effect had, however, its drawbacks. It was rather a general impression, an atmosphere, which the exhibitors seem to have intended in the focal galleries; to get this they massed an enormous amount of the richest and most colorful material, with but little restful space; they further enhanced the innate qualities of the works with spotlights. The visitor must have been so overcome by the competitive glory of the large arrays of carpets, miniatures, and ceramic wares that his urge for critical investigation or for the enjoyment of the detail was again and again frustrated. When he reached, in the upper stories of the building, the more soberly exhibited objects, such as the prehistoric or Seljuk rooms, he must have felt a letdown after having previously been keyed up to the highest pitch. It was, therefore, a laudatory decision to keep the exhibition open beyond the originally planned period of one month. The slow and often repeated siplike examination of the many thousand objects displayed might have finally resulted in some comprehension of the many religious and artistic ideas exhibited there.

In many instances the general arrangement in the Islamic section of the exhibition was based on aesthetic principles rather than on historical development. The main galleries I and IV contained, respectively, such combinations as sixteenth-century carpets and velvets and twelfth- and thirteenth-century potteries, and luster tiles and mihrabs in juxtaposition to carpets of silk with gold and silver threads. The Seljuk room (XIV) tried to give a survey of the achievements in the various media such as metal, textile, stucco, and pottery; but this gallery was too far removed from the main Islamic sections. (As it neighbored the Scythian bronzes and prehistoric art, the Seljuk gallery should have switched places with the Achaemenid and Sasanian gallery XI.) It was also the least successfully selected and integrated section. It was not even fully

representative, as many of the best ceramic pieces of this period were to be found elsewhere in the exhibition.

Gallery IX presented the development of miniature painting very well. It happily included calligraphy and illuminations. The opportunity to show Iranian paintings on pottery from the centuries preceding the earliest miniatures in books was not grasped. The manuscripts were very aptly shown in a dark room with brilliantly lighted cases (somehow like exotic fish in a large modern aquarium); but the difficulty in seeing some of the small paintings, in their high vertical arrangement (for instance the important paintings in case 11), was a definite detriment. It was also a pity that the overflow of this gallery, created by spacial difficulties, which was to be found in three other places (galleries VII, VIII, and X), even lead to a parallel show of the historical development in gallery VII, where, with the wealth of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings, the accent was only slightly different. This dispersion of material also prevented a close comparison of the fifteen miniatures from the Demotte *Shah Namah*.

Only the relatively small early exhibits presented comparative material from beyond the borders of Iran. There were indications of similar tendencies in the Islamic section, for instance in the display of Kufic Kurans and of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century carpets, but on the whole this vast section restricted itself to a national presentation. As the exhibitors probably would have been reluctant to reduce their choice of purely Persian objects, such an additional didactic confrontation on a grander scale would have made the exhibition too large. But it would have been very interesting if it had been possible to have had collateral material to show the international character of medieval Islamic society and civilization, of which the Iranian was only a dominant branch, playing an especially important role in the constant artistic

intercourse. It was just this "international" point of view which made the exhibitions of Munich (1910) and Leningrad (1935) so memorable to scholars; and it even made the much smaller exhibition of the "Art of the Dark Ages" in the Worcester Art Museum (1937) a really stimulating event.

In accordance with the policy of *Ars Islamica* this account has to restrict itself to the last seventeen hundred years of the programmatic "Six Thousand Years of Persian Art"; however, these years encompassed the great majority of the objects displayed. In view of the fact that the catalogue of the exhibition filled 562 pages<sup>1</sup> it seems obvious that even of this period only a limited review is possible.

If the exhibition had included only the carpets it would have been one of the biggest shows of its kind. One gallery alone contained the Anhalt carpet, the mate of the Victoria and Albert Museum Ardabil carpet of 1539,<sup>2</sup> which is now in the collection of Mr. J. Paul Getty, together with the large cream-colored medallion carpet formerly in the Mackay collection, also shown, a large rose-red Herat carpet (the so-called "Emperor" carpet) lent by the estate of Edith Rockefeller McCormick, and a large Herat carpet with moss green ground sent in by Mr. Kelekian, the silk medallion carpet lent by Mr. Joseph Widener, and, in addition, eleven other carpets or carpet fragments many of

<sup>1</sup> *Guide to the Exhibition of Persian Art*, by Phyllis Ackerman with the Assistance of Members of the Staff, New York, 1940. Quotations in this review are given from the second edition. The first edition included only galleries I to part of gallery XI, but it was the only available one when the writer visited the exhibition from April 24 to 29; he trusts that his identification of numbers is correct. The second edition also contained more illustrations and a colored frontispiece.

<sup>2</sup> The date of this carpet is erroneously given as 942 H. (1535 A.D.). *Ibid.*, p. 5. The date is 946 H. (1539 A.D.).



which are only of slightly lesser importance. Other galleries contained Polonaise carpets, northwest Persian medallion carpets, Herat carpets, and so on, in such a large array that it is difficult to select single items; therefore only a few which apparently have so far been overlooked in the general discussion are mentioned here.

A sixteenth-century carpet from northwest Persia belonging to French and Company (gallery X, No. 2) presents a number of unusual aspects still clearly visible in spite of its worn condition (*Fig. 1*). The polylobed circular medallion with an edge of small spirals and a wreath of centripetal arabesques around a smaller medallion is closely related to the medallion in a carpet in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs. Instead of the large peonies and cloudbands of that carpet, however, in the red field are staggered rows of yellow crosses and octagons formed by white or blue interlacings. This carpet is, therefore, apparently a combination of the centralized medallion and the more archaic allover geometric type of design. The amalgamation could not be perfect, as the two schemes are opposed to each other, but the overlapping of the medallion over the octagons and crosses is not too obtrusive. There is, perhaps, the possibility of explaining the field design in such pieces as the medallion carpet in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>4</sup> or, even more, the fragment in the Berlin Museum<sup>5</sup> as eclectic compositions of the medallion and the geometric schemes; but the staggered rows of diamonds and circles (or rather, spirals) have become so arabesque and floral that the geometric scheme is not as evi-

dent as in Figure 1. As Dimand has pointed out, the geometric design recalls in its layout and the important role played by the interlacings the geometric rugs known only from Timurid miniatures, or the still existent small-figured Holbein carpets; the latter do not, however, have the floral patterns, especially the fine peonies used in the carpet of French and Company. Inasmuch as no Persian carpets of geometric design of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century have come down to us, this carpet has definite historical significance. It is also a further proof of Miss Briggs's thesis of the actual existence of geometric rugs in the Timurid period.<sup>6</sup>

A late sixteenth-century formalized tree carpet from northwest Persia with bright red ground and a wide border of interpenetrating cartouches (*Fig. 2*) was loaned by Mr. Kelekian (gallery I, No. 11). In contrast to many other carpets of similar design the motifs are restricted to trees, shrubbery, cloudbands, and birds. No central medallion indicates the center. A series of two trees stressing the vertical axis presents a centripetal tendency, somewhat similar to that around the large medallions in the multiple medallion and animal carpet in the Museo Civico Bardini.<sup>7</sup> This structural composition is opposed to the centrifugal one of the tree groups emanating from a central medallion in such carpets as the tree carpet of the Fürst zu Schwarzenberg or the medallion and animal carpet in the Getty collection (gallery I, No. 5).<sup>8</sup> The single tree groups also provide charming solutions of compositional schemes. There are three different solutions of the problem of contrasting a straight-growing and a twisted tree trunk; the most elaborate being the contrapuntal setting of a straight but rather heavy-set

<sup>3</sup> A. U. Pope, "The Art of Carpet Making," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), VI, Pl. 1155.

<sup>4</sup> M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts* (New York, 1930), Fig. 144.

<sup>5</sup> K. Erdmann, *Orient-Teppiche. Bilderhefte der Islamischen Abteilung*, Hft. 3 (Berlin, 1935), Pl. 4.

<sup>6</sup> A. Briggs, "Timurid Carpets. I. Geometric Carpets," *Ars Islamica*, VII (1940), 21-54.

<sup>7</sup> Pope, *op. cit.*, Pls. 1144-45.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls. 1203 and 1128.

cypress with a slender tree with many little branches winding up behind its back in an S-curve, a motif also found in certain prayer rugs.<sup>9</sup> These particular tree groups are then contrasted to other combinations in which two identical trees, one growing to the left, the other to the right, are made to frame a different tree or leaf set as an axis between them. A peculiarly charming, though primitively executed, motif is that of two birds in a nest, an idea which is rendered in a different fashion in the Williams tree carpet.<sup>10</sup>

An apparently hitherto unpublished example of a rarer variation of vase carpets is the fragment (*Fig. 3*) lent by the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia (gallery XIII, No. 28). This particular fragment belongs to the group in which four flowers are always set in fields of varying color; these fields are either diamond-shaped as in the carpet in the Çinili Köşk,<sup>11</sup> the most famous representative and the only fully preserved one, or nearly square, as in the piece in the exhibition, and are created by lanceolate leaves or compositions of dentated petal leaves which fit into one another. Though the stem system carrying flowers is reduced to two, the peculiar features of this type produce an effect which is as rich and impressive as the ordinary vase carpets with three flower-carrying stem systems on a monochrome ground.

Of this other type the exhibition showed three pieces with fields in various tones of red, belonging to the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia (formerly in the von Tucher collection, gallery IV, No. 14), the estate of Edith Rockefeller McCormick (gallery IV, No. 15), and Mr. Kevorkian (gallery IV, No. 1). There was also a fragment of a particularly fine white grounded piece (*Fig. 4*), also lent by the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia (gallery I, No. 1), of which only the outer guard stripe was

missing to give a complete picture of the whole. Judging from the design it seems very likely that this fragment once formed a part of the only other known white grounded vase carpet, also a fragment, in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Vienna,<sup>12</sup> or of a lost companion piece. As the plant forms within the large flowers in the Vienna fragment are all rising in the direction of the vase motif the Washington fragment was probably originally on its left side, forming part of the long left border.

One of the great surprises of the exhibition was the great number of really first-class miniatures, many of them entirely unknown. In spite of thirty years of intense search and research in this field, some vitally important paintings emerged and new problems became evident.

The main show of the art of the book opened with a group of early Kuran pages in Kufic. Two pages of parchment (gallery IX, case 1D), belonging to Mr. Minassian, were remarkable for a special, perhaps East Persian, variation of tenth-century Kufic. In it six gold dots triangularly arranged were used as verse end marks.

The ship scene with "Afrāsiyāb Fleeing Before Kai Khusraw" (gallery IX, case 2A) from the *Shah Namah* manuscript of Kawwām al-Dīn written in Shiraz, in 1341, belonging to Mr. Kelekian, presented a fine example of the archaic historical style (*Fig. 5*). The two

<sup>11</sup> F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst* (München, 1912), I, Pl. 52; E. Kühnel, *Die Sammlung türkischer und islamischer Kunst in Tschnili Köschk* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1938), Pl. 34. A small fragment with preserved border was formerly in the collection of H.-R. d'Allemagne (published in colors in his *Du Khorassan au pays des Backhtiaris* (Paris, 1911), I, pl. opposite p. 98.

<sup>12</sup> F. Sarre and H. Trenkwald, *Old Oriental Carpets* (Leipzig, 1926), I, Pl. 23. An insignificant difference in the design is caused by the small cartouches in the inner guard stripe, which are more elongated and thinner in the Washington fragment.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 1169.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 1126.



bearded figures of this painting readily recalled certain facial types in the Demotte *Shah Namah*.<sup>13</sup> The exhibition contained a large number of miniatures from the various dispersed small-sized Mongol *Shah Namah* manuscripts, which are often difficult to distinguish. It is a pious hope that the opportunity to study so many at the same time will somehow lead to a disentanglement of the various strands.

Several unknown miniatures of the second early Mongol *Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān*, akin to those of one master of the Morgan Library Ms. 500 (which was also exhibited, gallery IX, case 4C) had the characteristic linear style employing mainly light washes (gallery VII, case 72A-E). A new historical prose manuscript with small-sized miniatures of vertical orientation, apparently painted in the third and fourth decades of the fourteenth century, in the Shiraz style, was represented by the miniature "A Prophet Riding on an Ass, With Four Companions" (collection of Mr. R. Garrett, gallery VII, case 76C).<sup>14</sup> Mrs. C. T. Burnett's late fourteenth-century miniature, "Two Lovers in a Garden" (*Fig. 7*), recalled by its large size (19 inches by 12¾ inches) paintings on silk or possibly lost wall paintings (gallery IX, case 8); it seems to come from the same manuscript as the equally large "Jonah and the Whale" in the Metropolitan Museum.

Two single miniatures from a lost manuscript tentatively attributed to Shiraz, fifteenth century, by the catalogue (gallery IX, case 7

B, C), "Two Gentlemen with Servants" and "A Praying Traveller in a Forest," betray an unusual romantic lyricism in the rendition of the general atmosphere and especially subtle work in the painting of the floral world (*Fig. 8*). They belonged to Mr. Kevorkian as did a number of miniatures of a *Ẓafar-nāma* dated 1435 which were remarkable for the grandiose bizarre quality, especially in the miniature showing the ruler on the hunt (case 7E).

Next to the famous manuscript of the *Ẓafar-nāma* of 1467, belonging to Mr. Garrett (gallery IX, case 11B), was one of the "finds" of the exhibition, a single miniature entitled "Attack of a Fortress" (*Fig. 6*), belonging to Mrs. John D. Rockefeller (case 11A). The miniature was not completed, as indicated by the unfinished ruler in the upper right corner; still it presented itself as an outstanding painting of the Herat school of the end of the fifteenth century, though it did not quite reach the level of the rich polychromy of the Garrett manuscript. The catalogue regarded this painting as "probably Bihzad's work, partly finished by a pupil." These miniatures were followed by others from Herat and Bukhara, the study of which will undoubtedly throw new light on this period. It was pleasant to know that the well-known portrait of "Muhammad Shāibak Khan," the one-time master of Bihzad, and the remarkable "Derwish" which formerly belonged to M. J. Doucet, are now both in this country, in the collection of Mrs. C. T. Burnett (gallery VII, cases 83A and 89A).

The most important single manuscript which came to light for this exhibition was *Djāmi's Haft Awrang* copied by six different scribes in Herat between 1555 and 1564 for the Safawid prince Abu'l-Faṭḥ Sultan Ibrahim Mirza (Kevorkian collection; gallery IX, case 16B).<sup>15</sup> It

<sup>13</sup> D. Brian, "A Reconstruction of the Miniature Cycle in the Demotte *Shah Namah*," *Ars Islamica*, VI (1939), Figs. 1, 27.

<sup>14</sup> Briefly described in M. E. Moghadam and Y. Armajani, *Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Persian, Turkish and Indic Manuscripts, Including Some Miniatures in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton, 1939), p. 87, No. 196. Another miniature of the same manuscript is listed there as No. 195. See also review of the catalogue on pages 120-21 of this number of *Ars Islamica*.

<sup>15</sup> Mrs. A. C. Weibel was kind enough to inform the writer that this manuscript was exhibited in Detroit in 1930 (*Catalogue* [Detroit, 1930], No. 12).

unites the polished polychromy of the Timurid-Safawid tradition with the newly acquired taste for the pastoral and urban everyday life in the Muḥammadī fashion. It seems that this manuscript exercised a definite influence on Mughal painting; one of its miniatures was copied and inserted in one of the Indian albums of the Duke of Hamilton,<sup>16</sup> and the Berlin section of the *Djahāngīr* album betrays the same general heritage.<sup>17</sup>

In several cases miniatures of the Shah Abbas period revealed that the artists could then occasionally overcome the fashionable tendency for stereotype drawing, unpleasant color combinations, and a perverted taste for the effete or the ugly. Creations like "Man with Lute" (Mr. John Warrington, gallery VII, case 90A), "Two Drunkards" (Minassian, gallery VII, case 97A), "Nude Lady Asleep by a Stream" (Kevorkian, gallery VII, case 85C), "Drunkard under a Willow Tree" (Minassian, gallery VII, case 101B), "Two Europeans Sprinkling a Sleeping Beauty with Rose-water" (Kevorkian, gallery VII, case 101C), "Lovers Playing" (Demotte, gallery IX, case 17B), and several others, are amongst the finest and most characteristic of the late Safawid school.

While the London exhibition of 1931 proved a great stimulus for ceramic research, it seems unlikely that the pottery exhibited in New York will have a similar function. It is true, a great number of objects were exhibited. But the majority was known to scholars working in the field, and the rest yielded few historically documented or even those odd and "problematic" pieces which by their overemphasis or misunderstanding of designs and their eclectism suddenly reveal to the scrutinizing mind which way

the historical development went. Within the exhibition the pottery objects seemed rather to serve as pleasant spacefillers between carpets or in corridors than to stand in their own right (which they happily did in gallery VII). Occasionally, too many (and too many overrestored) pieces especially of the Mīnā'ī wares were put in one case and competed with each other to their own disadvantage. This situation became particularly obvious when several pieces decorated with very similar scenes were put close to each other (galleries I, case 25, B, C, D; gallery VII, case 25).

A number of well-known and justly famous pieces were brought together, such as the large mihrab from Varāmīn dated 1265 (gallery IV, 41K), which aptly served as a focal point of the exhibition, and the large turquoise blue glazed lion (gallery XIV, 20), both belonging to Mr. Kevorkian; the large Mīnā'ī plate with a battle scene of Mr. Kelekian (gallery I, case 33); the luster tabourette of the McIlhenny collection (gallery IV, 25), the large Kashan luster plate of 1211 of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (gallery IV, 50L), and the big Kashan luster jar with tilelike decoration first published by Sarre (Dr. Jacob Hirsch, gallery IV, 33).

Several pieces which had been exhibited and referred to in the literature many years ago, but since then had been lost sight of, appeared again. To these belonged the Kashan luster tile tombstone for *Khadīdja* bint Imam *Dja'far* ibn Imam Muhammad al-Bākir in form of a mihrab, dated 713 or 723 H. (not 633 H. as stated in the catalogue), with master signatures of which only the names Ali and al-Husaini are still preserved;<sup>18</sup> first exhibited in Munich 1910 it was sent to this exhibition by Mr. Kevorkian (gallery IV, 36). In another gallery was the luster painted

<sup>16</sup> R. Ettinghausen, "Indische Miniaturen der Berliner Museen," *Pantheon*, XV (1935), 168 and fig. on p. 169.

<sup>17</sup> E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indische Buchmalereien. Aus dem Jahāngīr Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1924), Pl. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Listed as No. 108 in R. Ettinghausen, "Dated Faience," in: "The Ceramic Art in Islamic Times," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), II, 1684.



ewer of 674 H., which now belongs to French and Company; it was exhibited by J. E. Taylor in the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition in 1907.<sup>19</sup>

A few other pieces may be mentioned on account of noteworthy features. A sgraffito bowl with massive Kufic set against a simple rinceau (*Fig. 9*) belonging to the type attributed by Pope to Garrūs had parts of its green glaze flaked off, thus revealing that the dark background for the whitish buff slip decoration is the result of a special black staining (Kevorkian, gallery VII, 19C). A plate with a bird of prey on a very baroque arabesque background in the polychrome sgraffito technique presented a non-Iranian version of a technique attributed by Pope in Iran to Aghkand (*Fig. 10*); the catalogue assumed a possible Syrian, eleventh to twelfth century origin, apparently on account of the Syrian site where it was found (Kouchakji, gallery VII, 6A). An unusual decorative technique for a large storage jar (*Fig. 11*) is evident in the black painted arabesques, sphinxes, and sham Kufic letters under a green glaze on a piece exhibited in gallery I (Kelekian, No. 32). If the reading on the high-footed luster bowl of Mrs. William H. Moore "Made in Harand in the province of Yezd" should withstand further investigations this piece will prove to be of particular importance for ceramic research (gallery XII, case 30N); there are a number of ceramic pieces known whose inscriptions seem to name the localities where they were made, but this bowl would be the first readable one after the discovery of the Kashan inscriptions. A visitor to the exhibition could study an unusual collection of the blue-and-white seventeenth-century plates which in their technique and iconography betray Chinese prototypes, Anatolian ones in their petaled edge and in certain motifs, and Persian ones by other details and the easy sweep of trees and cloud-bands—a rare opportunity, as this type does

not much enjoy the favor of the collectors or the interest of scholars (gallery X, case 36).

In this reviewer's opinion metal was the medium which could most successfully compete with the miniatures in the wealth of unknown material of the highest quality. In the pre-Islamic periods with their imposing monuments distinguished by their artistic qualities, size, and the valuable materials used this pre-eminence was very obvious. The Islamic objects were more restricted in size and more interesting in details of decoration and were therefore in danger of being overlooked. Many outstanding pieces from the Dumbarton Oaks collection and the Walters Art Gallery, both distinguished in this particular medium, were shown.

The well-known unique Sasanian silver plate of Yazdigird II (438–57) or Valāsh (484–88) and his queen from the Walters Art Gallery<sup>20</sup> (gallery XI, case 39E) and another newly discovered silver plate of the same period belonging to Mrs. Cora Timken Burnett were two of the main points of interest in gallery XI, which showed many extraordinary pieces from the Achaemenid until the early Islamic period. The Burnett plate (case 40) is decorated with a king on horseback hunting ibex (*Fig. 12*); a buck and a doe are seen running toward the right and, again, in characteristic Sasanian fashion, dead at the bottom, marked by a hill symbol. On the reverse an inscription has been engraved, which has not yet been read.

By its peculiar technique of applied repoussée, forming a high relief enhanced by engraving and gilding, this piece falls easily within a well-known group which comprises a plate with a boar-hunting ruler in the Freer Gallery<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> E. Herzfeld, "Khusraw Parwēz und der Tāq i Vastān," *Archaeologische Mitteil. aus Iran*, IX (1938), 119–21, 126, No. 12.

<sup>21</sup> J. Orbeli, "Sāsānian and Early Islamic Metalwork," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1938), IV, Pl. 211.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1674, No. 22.

and two other plates with antelope-hunting kings in the Hermitage<sup>22</sup> and the Metropolitan Museums.<sup>23</sup> Until recently the Freer and the Hermitage pieces have been thought to represent Shāpūr II (310–79 A.D.), to whom the catalogue also attributes the Burnett plate and the Metropolitan Museum piece Khusraw I (531–79 A.D.).

New investigations by Herzfeld have shown that the Metropolitan Museum piece has to be attributed to Pērōz I (457–85 A.D.),<sup>24</sup> whereas the crown of the ruler on the Freer plate, on account of the fluted ball placed over the mural crown, cannot represent an official royal crown of a Sasanian king. It is impossible, therefore, to attribute it definitely to one particular Sasanian ruler, though stylistically it may very well be from the end of Shāpūr's reign. As Herzfeld has demonstrated,<sup>25</sup> the fluted ball, which is also the distinguishing feature of the Mrs. Burnett's plate, occurs first on Eastern coins of the third century; in Persia proper it is of symbolic value as parts of standards and becomes also a characteristic feature on as yet unidentifiable helmets of the Persian kings. The crowns on the Freer and Burnett plates are hybrid combinations of helmet and crown emblems. Such agglomerations would be out of place on the official coinage, but can be very well explained on non-documentary objects like silver plates.

Another unrecorded object either Sasanian or, as the catalogue states, post-Sasanian is a hemispherical silver bowl without foot, but with a flat horizontal escutcheon handle applied at the lid (Kevorkian, gallery XI, case 39Q). Its engraved decoration consists of stylized ducks on either side of a leafy stem.

The exhibition presented again the extraordinary silver rhyton (?) in the shape of a styl-

ized antelope with long straight horns (*Fig. 13*), found in Khoniakov in Volhynia, and belonging to Mr. Brummer (gallery XI, case 33). It will be recalled that when the piece was shown in London it was first labeled "Sasanian," later on "Achaemenid"; in the Paris Exhibition of 1938 it was included with the Sasanian material, whereas in New York it is again called "Achaemenid," with a question mark.

The few authors who wrote hesitatingly about this object had to admit that no real comparable material was available.<sup>26</sup> It might therefore be appropriate to point to two molds of animal masks (*Figs. 15 and 16*) found by the Prussian Turfan expedition under A. von Le Coq in 1906 in Shor-čuk in the Kara Shahr oasis of Eastern Turkestan.<sup>27</sup> These masks of a horse and an elephant are perhaps more expressive and more expressionistically animated. But the general style is very close to that of the antelope rhyton. In all three cases we find the same reduction to the basic form of the animal's head, and the stress on the vertical axis expressed by the marked nose bone, vertically placed nostrils (*Figs. 13 and 15*) and the elongated trunk and groove on the elephant's forehead (*Fig. 16*). There is also to be noticed the same repetition of grooved features in every single head: for the horse, on the cheeks below the eye and in the hair; of the ears and section below the eye for the elephant; and of the cheeks and antlers in the case of the antelope. Le Coq assumed an eighth to ninth century date (with a question mark!), which seems late. More important, however, he points out that the region where the molds were found must have had con-

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 209.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 213; this plate is fragmentary.

<sup>24</sup> Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 119, Pl. VIII.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 129–40.

<sup>26</sup> K. Erdmann, "Persische Kunst in London," *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, LXV (1931–32), 31–32; S. Casson, "Achaemenid Sculpture," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1938), I, 355.

<sup>27</sup> A. von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, Neue Bildwerke; Ergebnisse der kgl. preuss. Turfan-Expeditionen* (Berlin, 1926), Fünfter Teil, Pls. 5–6.





FIG. 1—MEDALLION CARPET, NORTHWEST PERSIA, SIXTEENTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK, FRENCH AND COMPANY





FIG. 2—TREE CARPET, NORTHWEST PERSIA, SIXTEENTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK, D. K. KELEKIAN





FIG. 3

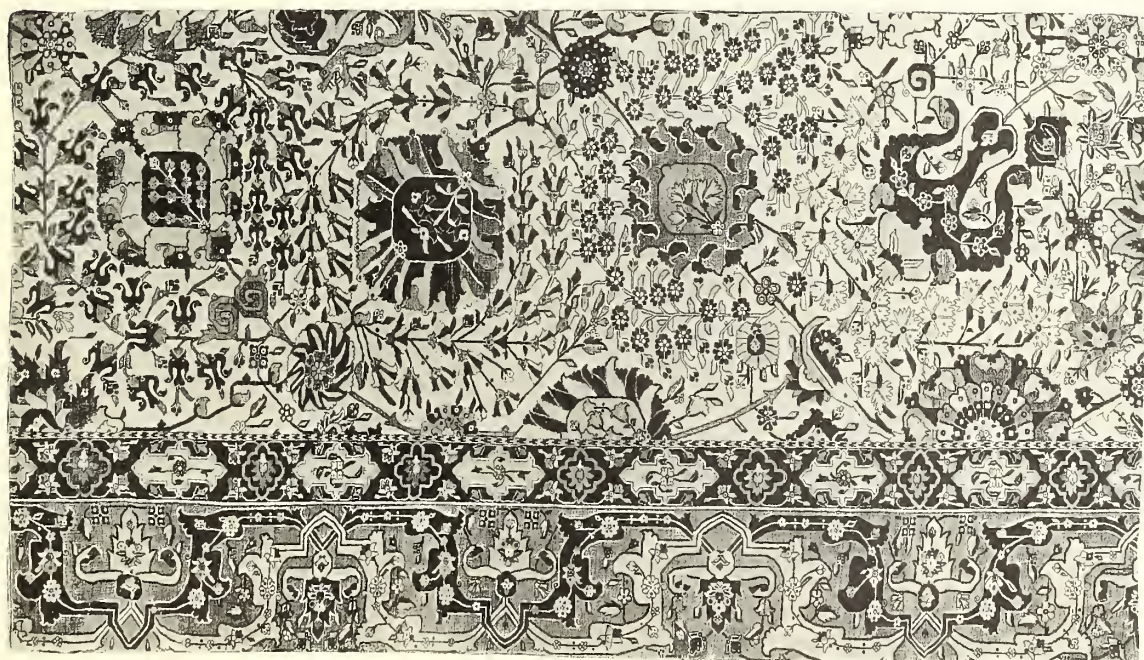


FIG. 4

FIGS. 3-4—FRAGMENTS OF VASE CARPETS, FIRST HALF OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY  
WASHINGTON, D.C., TEXTILE MUSEUM OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA



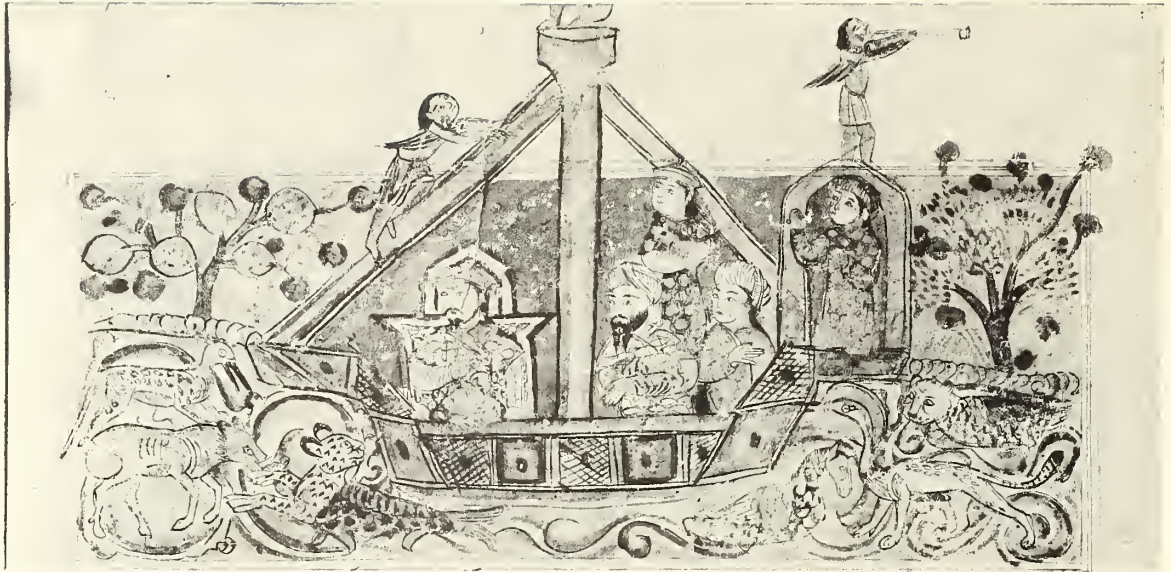


FIG. 5—MINIATURE FROM A SHAH NAMAH, SHIRAZ, 1341  
NEW YORK, D. K. KELEKIAN

FGA. 42.12



FIG. 6—"ATTACK OF A FORTRESS"  
HERAT, END OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF MRS. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER



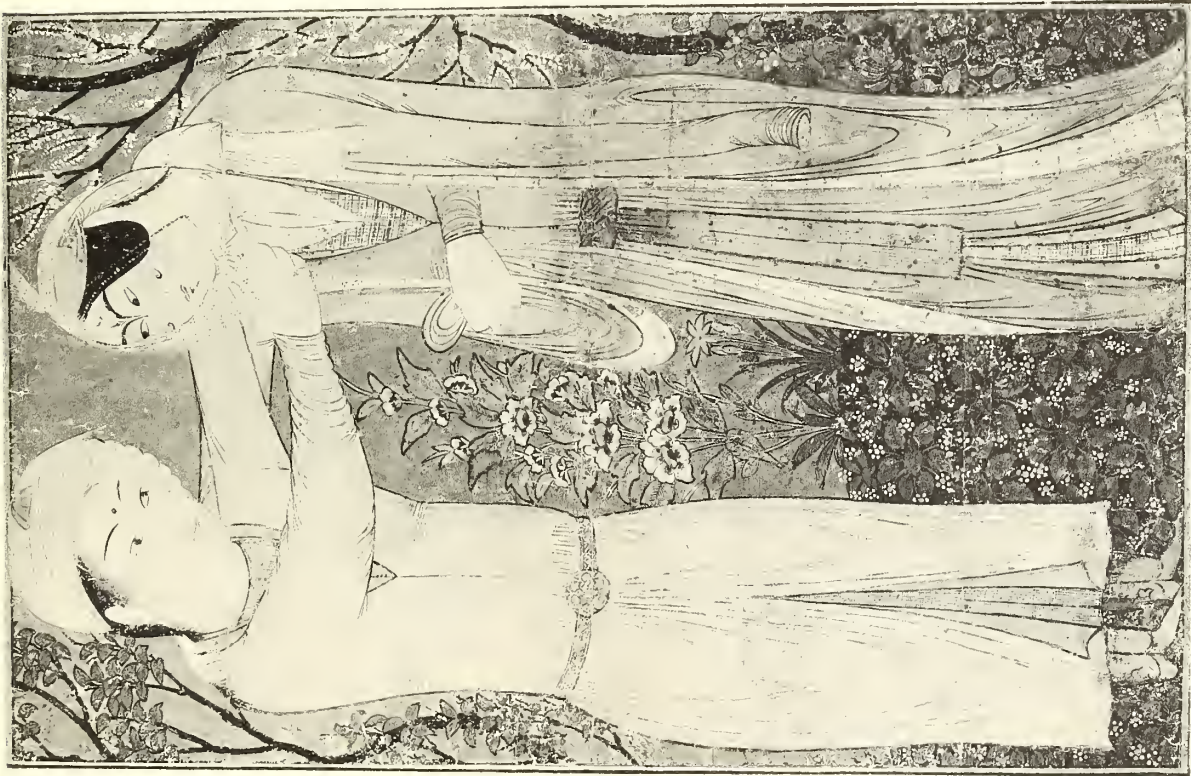


FIG. 7—"TWO LOVERS," END OF FOURTEENTH CENTURY  
ALPINE, N.J., COLLECTION OF MRS. CORA TIMKEN BURNETT

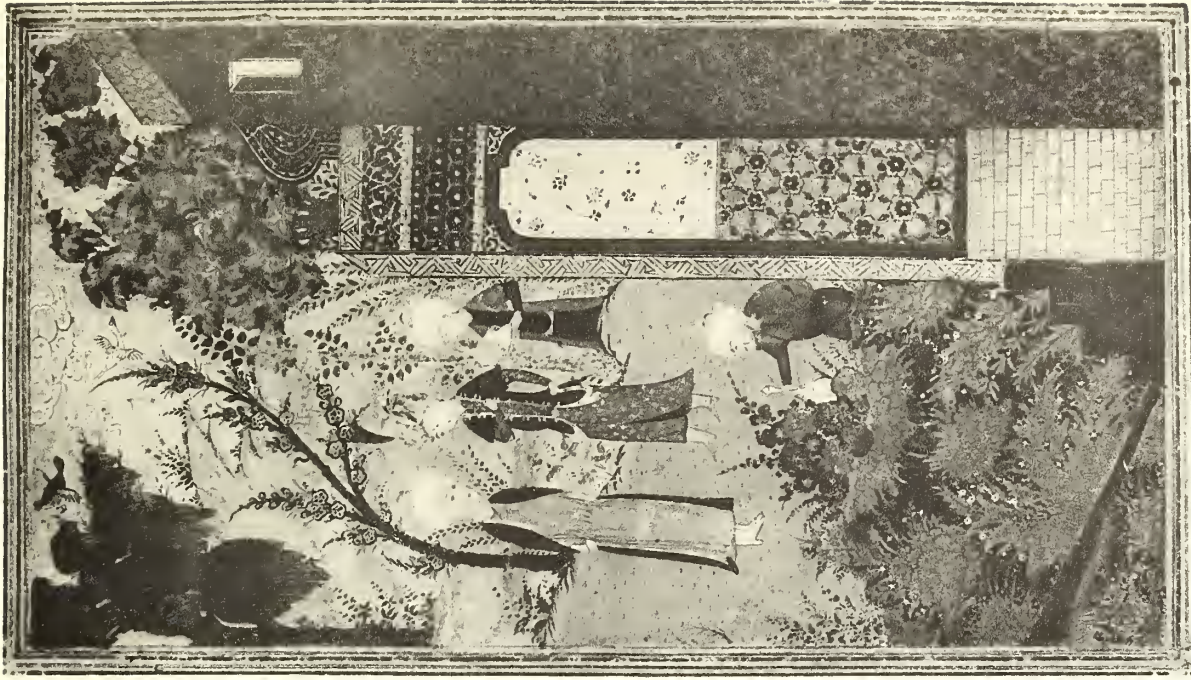


FIG. 8—"TWO GENTLEMEN WITH SERVANTS," FIFTEENTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK, H. KEVORKIAN





FIG. 11—JAR. LATE TWELFTH OR EARLY THIRTEENTH  
CENTURY  
NEW YORK, D. K. KELEKIAN



FIG. 9—BOWL. ELEVENTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK, H. KEVORKIAN



FIG. 10—PLATE. ELEVENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK, F. KOUCHAKJI

42.13





FIG. 12—SILVER PLATE WITH SASANIAN KING HUNTING. FOURTH CENTURY  
ALPINE N.J., COLLECTION OF MRS. CORA TIMKEN BURNETT



FIG. 13—VESSEL. GILDED SILVER  
NEW YORK, J. BRUMMER



FIG. 14—ANIMAL HEAD. CHINESE, HAN PERIOD  
BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS



FIGS. 15-16—CASTS FROM MOLDS FOUND IN THE SHOR-ČUK OASIS  
BERLIN, MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE



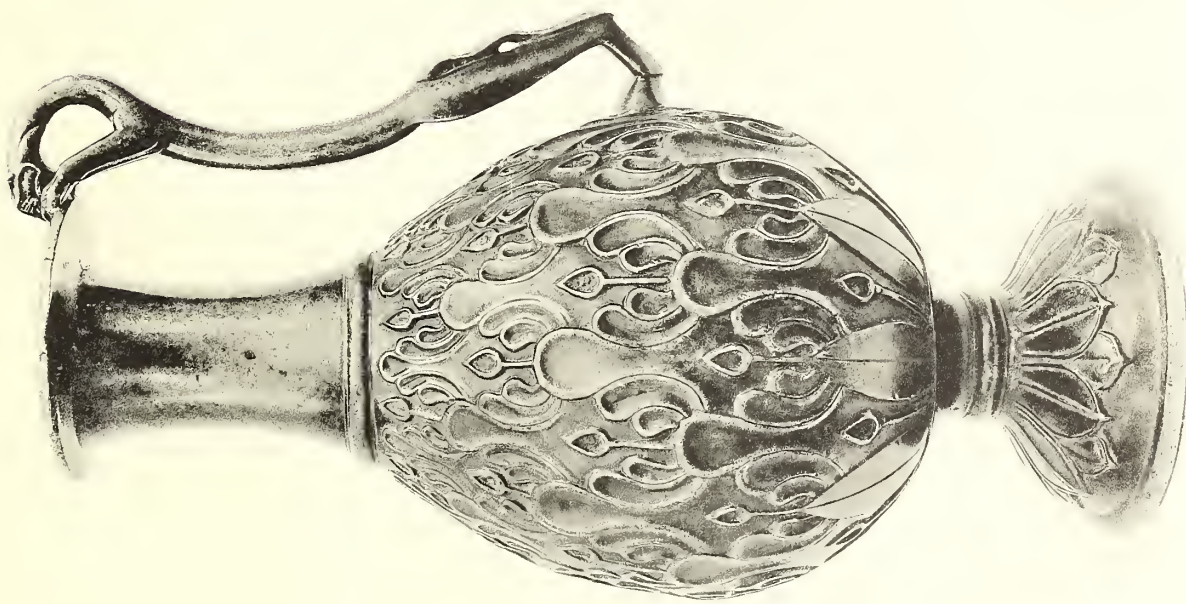


FIG. 17—BRONZE EWER. SASANIAN  
NEW YORK, J. BRUMMER

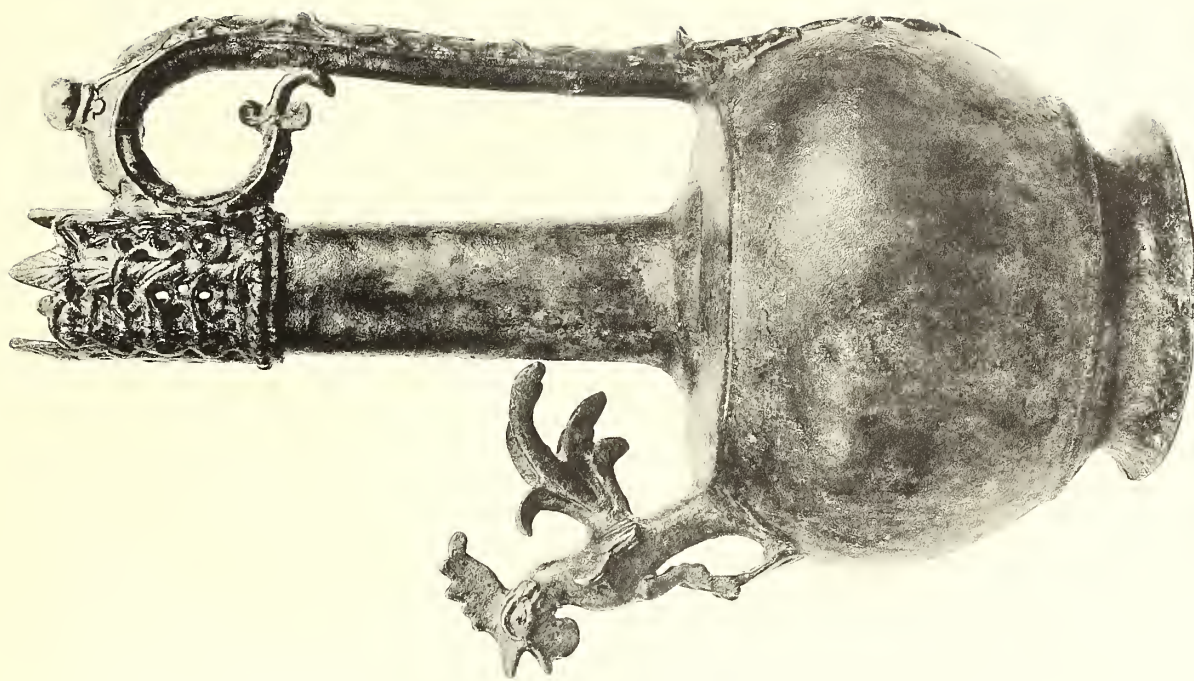


FIG. 18—BRONZE EWER. SEVENTH TO EIGHTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK, J. BRUMMER

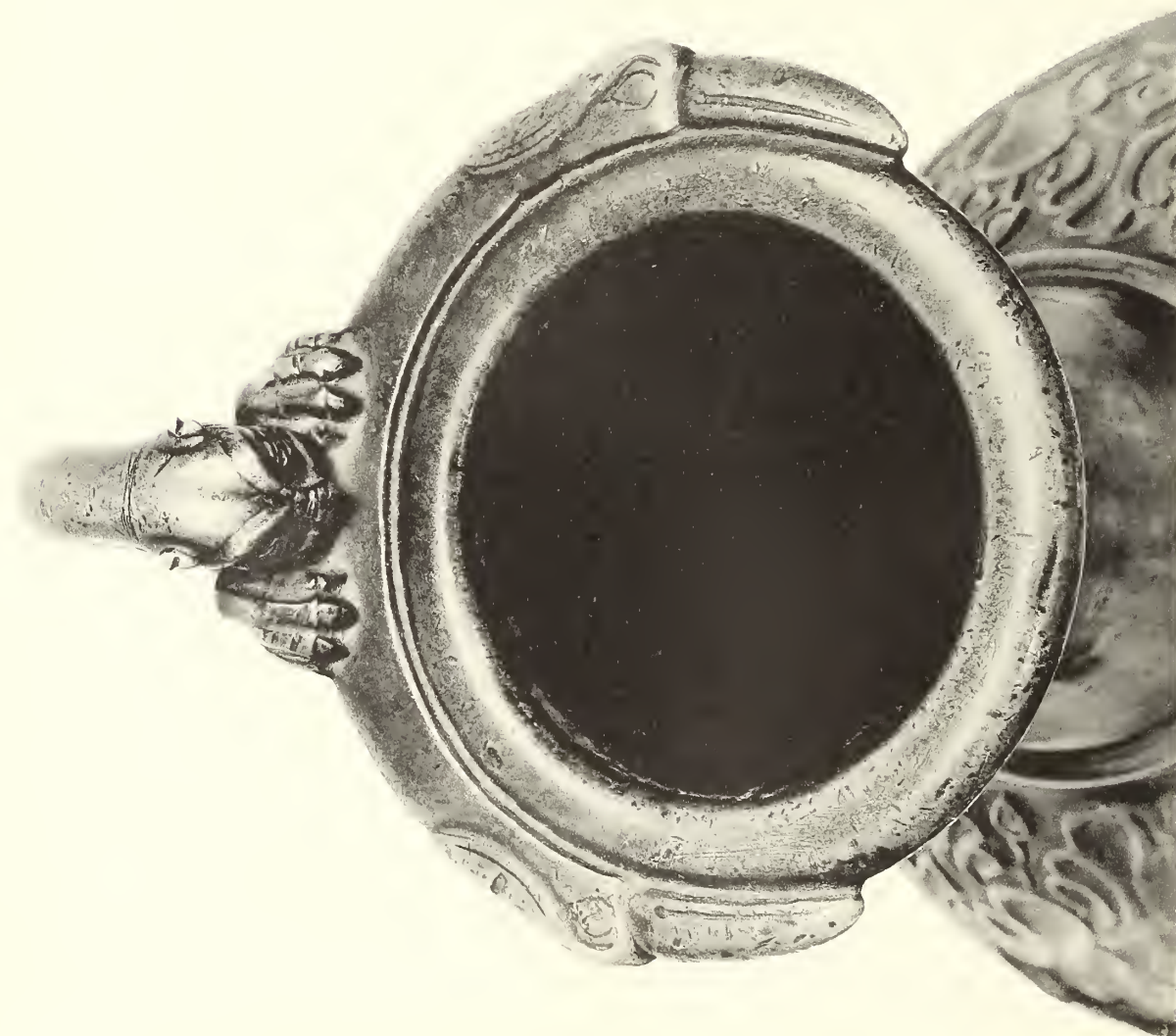


FIG. 19—DETAIL FROM SASANIAN BRONZE EWER (FIG. 17)  
NEW YORK, J. BRUMMER



FIG. 20—BRONZE EWER (SAME AS FIG. 18)  
NEW YORK, J. BRUMMER



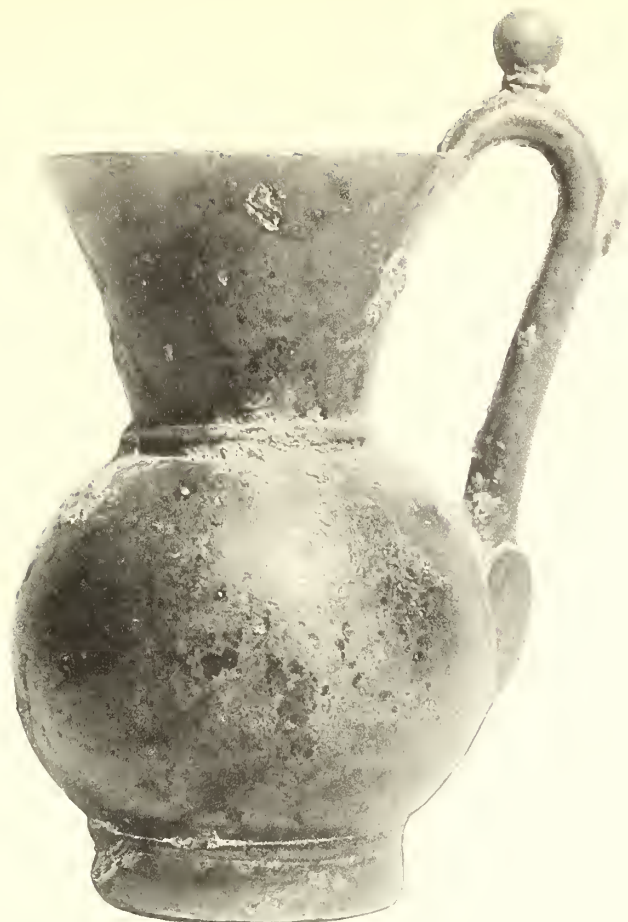


FIG. 21—BRONZE EWER, EARLY ISLAMIC  
NEW YORK, H. KEVORKIAN



FIG. 22—BRONZE BASIN. CAUCASUS. POST-SASANIAN  
NEW YORK, H. KEVORKIAN





FIG. 23—CARVED STONE SLAB WITH HITCHING RING. TWELFTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK, R. STORA



nection with Scythian, that is to say Iranian and Tocharian, nomads in southern Siberia.<sup>28</sup> He is also reminded of animal representations of just that region, though in a transformation through foreign, perhaps Chinese, ideas. With this statement in mind it is interesting to compare the Brummer antelope head with the head of a demon-like ibex (?) crudely sculptured in grayish black clay (*Fig. 14*) on an architectural brick composition, mainly known for its paintings, from the Han period (second century A.D.) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Ross collection, No. 25.190). The same nose bone with vertical nostrils and the same protruding eyes are found on a similarly egg-shaped head.

The many fine bronze objects of the Sasanian and post-Sasanian period were a really pleasant surprise. Just as the famous Sasanian room of the Leningrad exhibition was dominated by the majestic engraved bronze ewer of the Tiflis Museum whose inscription seemed to state that it was made by Abū Yazīd in Basra in 67 H., so the corresponding room in New York was ennobled by a no less impressive creation in bronze, a ewer from the former Prince Orloff collection (*Figs. 17 and 19*) now in the possession of Mr. Brummer (gallery XI, no. 35). The effect of this tall piece with its fine metallic surface (it is 19¼ inches high) is produced by the proportions of the whole, the contrast of decorated and undecorated parts, the rhythm of the decoration, and especially the modeling of the handle in the shape of a superbly sculptured lion. Technically, the piece is interesting as the ornamentation on the body seemed to have relied not only on the relief decoration, but also on inlays of some kind in the bud motif. The main decoration might perhaps be interpreted as an imbricate pattern of connected halves of a typical Sasanian bowl shape preserved in gold and silver.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> J. Orbeli and C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide* (Mos-

A later and poorer relative of the lion handle is the now headless quadruped forming together with a dolphin the handle of the bronze bird in the Berlin Museum.<sup>30</sup>

The whole vessel itself is the masterpiece whose derivatives followed from Sasanian to Seljuk times. From late Sasanian times on the proportions of the vessel are upset, the pieces get squatter, the feet are not any more so well molded, and the applied decorations lose their sculptural and rhythmic feeling and become flat.<sup>31</sup> An example of this later stage was shown in the same gallery by the bronze jug of the Walters Art Gallery (case 45H). In the renaissance of Sasanian art, in the Seljuk period, a heavy-set quality of the body is predominant. The pieces are actually transformed into animals, usually cows, an interpretation according to more popular beliefs not engendered by the more feudal minded Sasanian period. The lion on the handle becomes then angularly subdivided in its abstracted parts, and, like the main part of the vessel, covered with a flat surface ornamentation actually inimical to the character of the forms to be decorated. Pieces demonstrating this change in outward appearance are bronze jugs in the Art Institute of Chicago and the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>32</sup> and even the cow aquamanile in the Museum of the Academy of Sciences in Kieff.<sup>33</sup>

cow-Leningrad, 1935), Pl. 63; Orbeli, *op. cit.*, Pl. 221 A-C. A Chinese origin for this shape has been pleaded for by K. Dorn, "Östlicher Einfluss auf eine Gruppe iranischer Silberschalen," *Ostasiatische Zeitschr.*, Neue Folge, XIII (1937), 82-91.

<sup>30</sup> Orbeli, *op. cit.*, Pl. 242.

<sup>31</sup> Orbeli and Trever, *op. cit.*, Pls. 73, 77.

<sup>32</sup> R. Harari, "Metalwork after the Early Islamic Period," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), VI, Pls. 1296B, 1309C.

<sup>33</sup> M. M. Diakonov, "Un Aquamanile en bronze, daté de 1206," *Mémoires, III<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'art et d'archéologie iraniens* (Moscow, 1939), Pls. XXIV-XXV.

The catalogue ascribed a one-handled bronze jug with low globular body on a straight foot and with a high flaring neck (*Fig. 21*) belonging to Mr. Kevorkian (gallery XIV, case 17AA) as being twelfth to thirteenth century. The character of the yellow bronze is that of late Sasanian or early Islamic bronze vessels. These have, it is true, on the whole, a more vertical orientation, but certain bronze jugs have the same squat, static quality.<sup>34</sup> The straightforward robust quality of the piece with all its parts well developed and stressed, together with the abstinence from any kind of surface decoration to be expected in a Seljuk piece make a pre-Seljuk date more likely. This is further corroborated by the fact that this shape, often imitated by potters, is found for instance in a tenth-century post-Samarra luster jug in the collection of Sir Ernest Debenham.<sup>35</sup> The Kevorkian ewer has a round disk on the handle, a feature often found in Parthian and later wares inspired by metal prototypes.<sup>36</sup>

A number of bronzes demonstrated the dissemination of Sasanian forms outside Iran. A large ladle of yellowish bronze belonging to Mr. Brummer (gallery XI, case 45F) had a bird's head at the end of its handle, which presents a close parallel to the head of the Bobrinski duck in the Hermitage;<sup>37</sup> it is most likely of Eastern, that is, Indian origin. A repoussée basin (*Fig. 22*), which was exhibited in 1910 by Martin appeared again (gallery XI, case 45K, Kevorkian) and gave one an opportunity to study its elaborate iconography of Iranian derivation.<sup>38</sup> The cata-

logue's suggestion of a post-Sasanian Caucasian origin seems very likely.

The ewer of Mr. Brummer's in gallery XI (case 63) is representative of a small group of vessels which are one of the starting points of Islamic art (*Figs. 18 and 20*). Though this piece does not have the fine engravings of the other pieces—especially of the most famous of the group, the ewer in the Musée Arabe, which was found not far from the mausoleum of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II in Abū Šīr al-Malaḡ<sup>39</sup>—it shares with it the general shape, the cock spout, the crozier-like handle with two dolphins supporting its lower end, and the fine ajouré work on top of the funnel-like neck. The relief decoration below the handle (*Fig. 20*), a characteristic feature of this group, is less ambitious than that in the Cairo piece; it has such a typically Sasanian motif as a split palmette with an axial pomegranate.

The series of metal pieces of the Iranian Middle Ages continues with—to pick out a few outstanding pieces—the hemispherical bowl with the engraved picture of a king in Sasanian style made by Abū Naṣr Muhammad ibn Ahmed al-Sidjī (Brummer, gallery XI, case 45D), the superb twelve-lobed ewer of Mr. J. P. Morgan (gallery XIV, No. 33), the large domed inlaid box of the Walters Art Gallery (gallery X, case 50), the Mongol candlestick fragment of 708 H. of Mr. Stora (gallery X, No. 54), and a delightful waterbowl with inlaid miniature-like scenes of the late fourteenth century, not thirteenth century as the catalogue states (Walters Art Gallery, gallery X, case 52C). Of the many other pieces two might be specially mentioned, since one is a particularly beautiful and rare object, and the other is of some archaeological interest: an unpublished Seljuk gold finger ring with pierced and engraved decoration (Brummer,

<sup>34</sup> Orbeli, *op. cit.*, Pl. 244.

<sup>35</sup> A. U. Pope, "The History," in: "The Ceramic Art in Islamic Times," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), V, Pl. 576B.

<sup>36</sup> R. Ettinghausen, "Parthian and Sāsānian Pottery," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1938), IV, Pls. 182B, 189B.

<sup>37</sup> Orbeli and Trever, *op. cit.*, Pl. 81.

<sup>38</sup> F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1922), Pl. 131.

<sup>39</sup> F. Sarre, "Die Bronzekanne des Kalifen Marwān II im Arabischen Museum in Kairo," *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), 10-15.



gallery XIV, case 21J) and a large three-footed iron cauldron from the Caucasus with twelfth- to thirteenth-century decoration of animals on floral background and the master's signature in Neski: Ali ibn Muhammad al-H.... (Minasian, gallery XIV, No. 12).<sup>40</sup>

Of the sculptured and carved objects so far unnoticed an unusual stone carving (*Fig. 23*) with two conventionalized upstanding lions on either side of a carved-out ring within a cartouche in tabula ansata form deserves special mention (Stora, gallery X, No. 64). The catalogue calls it a section of a balustrade, fourteenth century. It seems to be earlier—twelfth or thirteenth century. Its original use is not at once

obvious; the suggestion that it served as a hitching ring does not sound unreasonable.

Nearly all textile collections in the United States, especially the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, the More collection at Yale University, Dumbarton Oaks, Cooper Union, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and others contributed lavishly to a display of this particular medium. The exhibition contained therefore a very large collection of textiles starting with an important series of Sasanian fabrics down to rather recent times, which gave the specialist ample opportunity to study the development of pattern and techniques.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

<sup>40</sup> The second letter seems to be a *ḡīm*, *ḥā*, or *khā*.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Ulug Beg und seine Zeit.* By Wilhelm Barthold. Bearbeitung von Walther Hinz. *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXI (1935), 1. 226 pp. RM. 7.50 (unbound).

*Herat unter Husein Baiqara, dem Timuriden.* By Wilhelm Barthold. Deutsche Bearbeitung von Walther Hinz. *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXII (1937), 8. X + 97 pp. RM. 1.90 (unbound).

These two volumes represent current translations from the Russian texts first published some twenty years ago; because their author, Wilhelm Barthold, is the pre-eminent authority on the history of the Middle East from the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries they are welcome as trustworthy compilations of factual material. Encyclopedic in scope, they have little popular appeal, nor do they lend themselves to a casual reading. The translation is of great value not only because it presents the original text in accessible form but also because scores of the footnotes give some inkling of the great amount of material in Russian of primary importance which also merits translation. Both volumes are provided with full chronological tables, with valuable indices, and with lengthy bibliographies of the source material used in the preparation of the texts.

The first of these volumes opens with an introduction dealing with the political conditions of the Timurid period, followed by an account of the activities of Uluğ Beg from his birth in 1394 until his death in 1449. The other book covers the career of Ali Shīr Nawā'i, whose life spanned the years from 1440 to 1501. Hence, the incidents of well over a century are studied in exhaustive detail. The names of hundreds of minor characters are strewn through the pages, and the courses of major and minor military campaigns

are traced out in a most thorough fashion. The pace of the text is pedestrian: crowded as it is with facts and dates one is given no sense of the atmosphere of the Timurid period. It is interesting to compare these volumes with another publication which deals with the same period: "Essai sur la civilisation timuride" by Lucien Bouvat, (*Journ. asiatique*, CCXVIII, 1926), which gives scanty details as to politics and warfare, but which packs into a mere one hundred pages a comprehensive re-creation of the daily cultural and artistic life of the time.

The volume which deals with Uluğ Beg traces the life history of this well-known figure, eldest son of Shah Rukh and grandson of Tamerlane. Records of raiding, skirmishes, and warfare on a larger scale are interspersed with tales of lively and deadly intrigue between the different branches of the royal family. Uluğ Beg himself was the eventual victim of such a feud, for he was put to death after being defeated in battle by forces led by his own son. Family history plays a predominate role in the story. There are lengthy catalogues of the names of the wives and the children of Uluğ Beg, but it is to be regretted that a detailed portrait of his mother, Gawhar Shād, the famous patron of architecture, whose buildings at Meshed and Herat still stand, is not given. Most of the description of actual buildings and places concerns the cities of Bokhara and Samarkand; an interesting list of the madrasas and mosques erected by Uluğ Beg in these cities is given, and something is said about the splendid gardens and pavilions added at this time to the ring of pleasure grounds already drawn about Samarkand in the time of Tamerlane. There are references to a study in Russian by V. L. Vjatkin, which is a modern attempt to establish the topography of ancient Samarkand.

Everyone knows that the ruling passion of



Ulugh Beg was astronomy and that his contributions to this science were of lasting value. Tables of the observations made by his associates were published in Latin, English, and French, for purposes of consultation, at a much later period. Barthold names and discusses the members of his staff of astronomers and mathematicians and presents all the recorded information about the number and location of the observatories erected by Ulugh Beg; the position of the ruins of the one built at Samarkand in 1428 has been established by the researches of Vjatkin.

The second of these volumes contains material of a decidedly less familiar nature. It contains a comprehensive account of the life of Ali Shīr Nawā'ī, the great exponent of *turki* literature, and includes material describing his day by day activities, as well as his associations with other literary figures of the period, and places special stress on his relations with Sultan Husain Bāiḡarā.

The material was first published in Russian by Barthold in 1928, on the five hundredth anniversary of Ali Shīr's birth in 1440—an apparent inconsistency caused by varieties of chronology—under a title corresponding to "Mīr 'Alī Shīr und das politische Leben." This German version is more than a literal translation. Hinz credits himself, after omitting sections of the original which he considered least important, with having turned a dull text into readable German. He claims to have improved upon the original title, although I do not believe that his new title epitomizes the contents as well as does the original one.

An opening chapter traces the political fortunes of the descendants of Tamerlane and stresses the increasing importance of Herat, as compared with the waning influence of Samarkand.

Ali Shīr was born at Herat of a noble family and held from birth the title of Emir (Mīr). It is possible that he was a schoolmate of Husain

Bāiḡarā, but when the two men were about seventeen their lives took divergent courses. Ali Shīr turned to study and association with poets, whereas Husain devoted twelve years to intrigue and warfare, gradually increasing his power, until he ascended the throne at Herat in 1469. The area which he controlled is shown in a good map. Ali Shīr at once became second ranking lord in the realm and keeper of the privy seals. In spite of the political plots of certain rivals he held the almost continual favor of his devoted friend the sultan and was employed in military and political missions of major importance.

The closing pages have something to say about the literary activities and associates of the great writer, although this major aspect tends to be lost in the general catalogue of events. Of much interest to many readers will be a list of some of the buildings erected under the direction of Ali Shīr, who proved himself to be a devoted patron of architecture. At Herat, on ground given to him by Sultan Husain, he built a series of madrasas and one notable project which included a mosque, where he was buried, a madrasa, hospital, and bath. The region of Khurasan was especially favored. At Ribāṭ 'Ashk, near Gurgān and Asterabad, he rebuilt a caravanserai of Kābūs ibn Washmgīr for whom the great Gunbād-i Kābūs had been constructed. South of Meshed he erected the Ribāṭ Sangbast on the ruins of one built by Arslān Djādhīb. Lines of foundation walls near the standing tomb of Arslān Djādhīb may be the remains of this structure. At Khargird he ordered a tomb for the poet and mystic Kāsim al-Anwār, and at Nishpur was erected a mausoleum for the poet Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and a building called the Ribāṭ Dīrābād.

Ali Shīr died in 1501, and the funeral services were conducted by Husain Bāiḡarā. The sultan survived him by only five years, and the kingdom which he had labored so strenuously to create fell apart almost at once.

DONALD N. WILBER

*Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Persian, Turkish and Indic Manuscripts, Including Some Miniatures in the Princeton University Library.* By Mohamad E. Moghadam and Yahya Armajani. (Princeton Oriental Texts, VI.) Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1939. Pp. iii + 94, one English and two Persian indices (i-x). \$7.50.

This catalogue, arranged in literary categories, is a companion volume to the *Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University*, by P. K. Hitti, N. A. Faris, and B. 'Abd-al-Malik, and follows the same plan and method of treatment, even in the system of transliteration. The collection was made up by purchase of manuscripts from such well-known scholars as Professors A. G. Widgery, M. Th. Houtsma, and E. Littmann, and by individual acquisitions from New York and Paris dealers made by Mr. Robert Garrett. As pointed out by Professor Hitti in his introduction, the most important manuscripts, both from the literary and artistic point of view, derive from these latter purchases, thus illustrating the collector's discriminating ability.

The handsome, well-printed catalogue follows the standard methods of catalogue descriptions. The authors seem to be fully cognizant of the literary aspects of the 154 Persian, 35 Turkish, 1 Pushtu, and 8 manuscripts in various Indian vernaculars. They have also paid attention to the character of the bindings, the illuminations, and the miniatures, for which the art historian who wishes to use this collection will be most grateful. The catalogue closes with an English and a Persian index of authors and other important persons and a Persian index of titles.

The outstanding item in the collection is No. 54, the famous manuscript of Sharaf al-Dīn Ali Yazdī's *Zafar-nāma*, written in 872 H. with Djāhāngīr's testimony and that of a Mogul librarian

(but not that of Shah Jahan, as stated in the catalogue, page 26) that the six double miniatures were painted by Bihzād. The predilection of the authors for the literary aspect of the manuscript and its relation to other copies is indicated by the fact that in addition to the usual references to other library catalogues and translations, only Sir Thomas W. Arnold's well-known monograph of 1930 is listed, but none of the later critical discussions of the miniatures.

Of greater historical interest than most of the other illuminated manuscripts, nearly all of the Safawid period, are a number of the single miniatures described at the end of the catalogue (Nos. 192-206). The attributions of most of these miniatures seem to be correct, as checking of a number of these items by the reviewer indicated. For the literary historian these single pages are only small fragments of usually well-known texts, therefore less interesting, although they may be very informative to the art historian, who forever tries to trace the "lost colophon" with its valuable data regardless of the importance or commonplaceness of the text. A certain number of facts can, therefore, be added to the information given by the authors. To quote only a few instances from the fine set of the Mongol miniatures (Nos. 192-98): the two leaves from the *Djāmi' al-Ta-wārīkh*, by Rashīd al-Dīn, showing Chinese emperors, come from a manuscript once in the possession of Shah Rukh, the son of Tamerlane (see Nicholas N. Martinovitch, "Die verlorene Handschrift von Rašīd ad-Dīn," *Artibus Asiae*, V [1935], 213-20); they were listed and illustrated in *Catalogue des objets d'art d'Orient... composant la collection de Monsieur Emile Tabbagh, Vente* (Paris, Hôtel Drouot, May 20-21, 1935, p. 22, Nos. 136-37, Pl. VIII); full bibliographical data were given by K. Holter (*Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350* [Leipzig, 1937], p. 25, Nos. 54 and 67; the two hands in this ms. are erroneously listed by Holter as belonging to two different manuscripts). The leaf with the two



black crows (No. 197) comes from the *Manāfi' al-Hayawān*, listed as Nos. 58–59 by Holter, who quoted all the other miniatures and articles known to him as dealing with this fragmentary manuscript. The manuscript from which No. 198 was taken was the holograph copy of *Mu'nis al-Ahrār fī Daḳā'ik al-Ash'ār*, by Muhammad ibn Badr Dīdījarmī, completed in Ramadan, 741 H. (February–March, 1341 A.D.). This work has been fully described by Mirza Muhammad ibn Abdu'l Wāhhāb of Qazwīn ("An Account of the Mu'nisu'l-Ahrar: a Rare Persian Ms. Belonging to Mr. H. Kevorkian," *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, V [1928], 97–108); one miniature each is in the Metropolitan Museum and in the collections of Mrs. J. D. Rockefeller, and Mrs. C. T. Burnett; two more miniatures and two full-page sarlawhs are still in the possession of Mr. Kevorkian (see also Holter, *op. cit.*, p. 19, No. 48; E. Kühnel, "History of Miniature Painting and Drawing," *A Survey of Persian Art* [London-New York, 1938–39], III, 1831–32, V, Pl. 818.) This manuscript is also—according to Mirza Muhammad—the oldest dated collection of quatrains of Omar Khayyam, which is interesting, as Mr. Garrett owns another early copy of Omar, dated 868 H. (No. 6).

Even a cursory study of the miniatures reveals that they include important material for the art historian. Nos. 195–96 are definite "finds"—the first examples of an apparently unknown manuscript containing an undated historical Persian prose text. The miniatures with a rather bright yellow background have, on the whole, the ear marks of the Shiraz school of the 1330's and 1340's. But, unlike most miniatures of the Mongol period, they are not composed within a horizontal band, but have a vertical orientation. One more miniature from the same manuscript is in the Metropolitan Museum and twelve miniatures are in the possession of Mr. Kevorkian, but as they are not yet published, nothing so far is known about them. No. 198 of the Garrett col-

lection, the page from the *Mu'nis al-Ahrār* manuscript, presents other points of interest. As stated by the authors its paintings on both sides of the leaf not only depict various birds and trees, but also arms, armor, and jewelry. The important fact is that, as in an illustrated dictionary, each illuminated object is also captioned with its specific Persian term. Thus, if a text of the eighth century H. (fourteenth century A.D.) mentions such terms as گرز, خشت, ناچ, تیر, تبر or گروشوار, یاره, طوق, کمر we know now more or less what kind of mace, spear, club, arrow, and ax, or earring, bracelet, necklace or girdle the author had in mind. A further investigation of all the miniatures from this manuscript would most probably provide additional information on the material culture of the Iranian Middle Ages.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

✓ *Persian Painting from Miniatures of the XIII.–XVI. Centuries.* 12 color plates with an Introduction. By Basil Gray. "Iris Books." New York-Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. 13, 12 color plates. \$2.75.

Unlike most art publications this volume, brought out as one of the "Iris books," does not present a long series of black and white plates interspersed with an occasional color plate, but restricts itself to twelve outstanding examples of Near Eastern painting of the Islamic period, all reproduced in ten colors. As color is one of the most important vehicles of artistic expression in Persian painting, this type of publication seems particularly useful as revealing the true nature of the art. The selection of the miniatures—several of which have never before been reproduced in color—was made by Dr. Hans Zbinden, editor of the "Iris books," with the advice of Mr. Basil Gray and M. Ivan Stchoukine.

Though the task of selecting the miniatures must have been difficult, the choice is admirable.

One is even glad that the term "Persian Painting" was not taken in its narrow meaning, so that the collection includes the much more "Arabic" (or at least Mesopotamian) miniature of the Schefer Ḥarīrī of 1237 (No. 1), which stands in definite contrast to the feudal character of all Persian paintings whether in books or on pottery. As the accompanying catalogue reveals the right understanding of the sequence of the miniatures, one is slightly puzzled by the order of some of the plates. The *Shah Namah* miniature, No. 3, is earlier in the Persian text than No. 2 is, and should therefore precede it; similarly, the magnificent "Falconer" of Sir Bernhard Eckstein's collection (No. 10) should really follow the two miniatures of Shah Ṭahmāsp's Nizāmī manuscript of 1539-43, as it is the later painting. The "Portrait of a Young Prince" of the early Safawid school, from the collection of M. Henri Vever, has at top and bottom two illuminated sura headings, cut out from a sixteenth century Koran and pasted on the card board of the miniature; since they have nothing to do with the picture, it would not have been necessary to show these decorative units, especially as the edges go through the writing.

The appearance of the reproductions is fairly rich and effective. As all the miniatures illustrated are in English, French, and Egyptian

collections, it is not possible for a reviewer in America to give an exact evaluation of the correctness of the colors. It seems, however, to be apparent that the soft, dull finish does not quite catch the crisp, enamel-like quality which especially distinguishes Timurid and Safawid painting.

Mr. Gray has contributed an interesting introduction to give the proper approach to Persian painting. Short as it is, this foreword contains a number of new ideas, which make this book all the more distinctive from the usual "primer" of Persian painting. Mr. Gray has furthermore added an excellent catalogue of the twelve illustrations, that gives in a concise form all the necessary information about the manuscripts from which the miniatures were taken, the authors of the books, the painters, the iconographic peculiarities, and so on.

The book is a welcome addition to the many tomes on painting in the Islamic world. It will be primarily useful to students and to those who wish an introduction in this special field. It is therefore very appropriate that the editor has also arranged a German edition brought out by the Iris Verlag, Berne, and a French edition published by Librairie Plon, Paris.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN



IN MEMORIAM  
GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS  
(1863–1939)

In the early tenth century, shortly after the glorious ceramic wares of the Samarra period had been created, Ibn al-Faḳīh wrote: "God has distinguished the people of China by the admirable execution of their crafts; he has given them what he has given no one else."

This perfect craftsmanship in China has always urged the artists of the Near East to emulation, while connoisseurs in the East and the West have regarded it as something to be revered. There were perhaps in our time few persons in the West who were more understanding and appreciative of the art of the East than was George Eumorfopoulos. He had gathered about himself, with catholic taste, superb examples of Chinese art from every age. And yet his name was not only connected with Chinese art and especially Chinese pottery (in which field he had pioneered in the new understanding of the early wares), for he was also regarded as a connoisseur in the field of Near Eastern art, as, since 1924, he had included the arts and crafts of the Islamic countries within the scope of his famous collection. His keen eye made it possible for him to gather some of their most remarkable creations, many of them unknown before he detected them. The large polychrome plate with the dancing prince in the Tang manner, the Kashan luster plate with the bathing girl of 1210, and the unique pilgrim bottle of inlaid brass decorated with Christian scenes (first described in this journal) are but a few of the masterpieces of his collection. Sometimes his objets d'art showed the marked difference between the artistic creations in the East and West of Asia, but there were also, occasionally, object lessons in the interdependence of artistic and commercial relations between the two great art centers of Asia. The Eumorfopoulos collection contained Tang vessels which could have been the prototypes for copies made at the caliph's court at Samarra, and it included exquisite Chinese celadon bowls excavated in the great Persian metropolis, Rayy. He owned a Syrian glass bottle which had its companion piece in that famous Japanese treasure house of the eighth century, the Shōsō-in, and some of his remarkable enameled glass vessels of the fourteenth century were discovered in China.

Mr. Eumorfopoulos will, however, not live in our memory only as the man who, guided by admirable judgment, spent lavishly over a period of more than thirty years, to collect art objects of all periods—well-known types and hitherto unrecognized pieces alike. His was an ever ready willingness to let every student in the field come, study, and enjoy the treasures in his home. For students in other lands he made them available in sumptuous publications brought out by great scholars. In every corner of the globe those who made the pilgrimage to 7 Chelsea Embankment will remember their host as a charming and kind, an unpretentious and wise man. In a period in which individual enterprise and all-embracing understanding seem to be dying out, when so many changes are taking place, George Eumorfopoulos will be remembered as a true representative of a period which we still think to have been great.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN











# ARS ISLAMICA





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THE RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART • INSTITUTE  
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## "HELLENISTIC" MINIATURES IN EARLY ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS BY HUGO BUCHTHAL

**D**URING THE EXHIBITION OF IRANIAN ART IN PARIS IN THE SUMMER OF 1938, THE THREE illustrated Arabic manuscripts of the *Maḳāmāt* of Ḥarīrī belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale were for the first time shown side by side.<sup>1</sup> The leaves of the manuscripts had been separated and were exhibited one by one so that most of the miniatures were on view at the same time. Those scholars who took the pains to make a comparative study of the iconography of every single *maḳāma* in all three manuscripts were surprised to find that the differences between the three series of illustrations were much more considerable than was to be expected. In many instances a *maḳāma* accompanied by a picture in one manuscript was left unillustrated in the other, and several *maḳāmāt* were illustrated in the three manuscripts by different episodes; and, above all, even when the same scene was chosen by the painters of the three manuscripts the iconography was by no means always the same. At first glance it seemed, generally, as if the different illustrations of the same scenes had nothing in common. The impression of this lack of uniformity was greatly strengthened by the general stylistic character, which is very different in each of the three sets of miniatures.

Two of these manuscripts date from the first half of the thirteenth century A.D., within a few years of each other; and the third one, too, has always been considered as being roughly contemporary.<sup>2</sup> As Ḥarīrī, the author of the fifty *maḳāmāt* contained in these manuscripts,<sup>3</sup> died only about 1120 A.D., the illustrations must have been comparatively "modern" inventions and cannot have been the direct outcome of century-old pictorial traditions. This would mean that the differences in the stylistic character and the pictorial repertoire of the three Paris manuscripts must reflect the differences of three contemporary schools of painting, working probably in three different artistic centers and drawing from different artistic sources.

The origin of Islamic book illustration in the early thirteenth century A.D. is a problem still open to discussion. Until now most Islamic miniatures from the period prior to the Mongol invasion have been classified as belonging to the school of Baghdad, and this school has been described as representing a strange mixture of elements partly Hellenistic and partly

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of the Exhibition: *Les Arts de l'Iran: L'ancienne Perse et Bagdad* (Paris, 1938), pp. 110 ff. No. 1: MS arabe 6094 (on the Ḥarīrī miniatures); pp. 112 ff. No. 2: MS arabe 5847; pp. 118 ff. No. 3: MS Arabe 3929. A bibliography of the three manuscripts is given in K. Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350," *Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, LIV (1937), 1 ff., and H. Buchthal, O. Kurz, and R. Ettinghausen, "Supplementary Notes to K. Holter's Check List of Islamic Illuminated Manuscripts Before A.D. 1350," on pp. 147-64 of this issue of *Ars Islamica*. On the Paris Exhibition cf. also D. T. Rice, "The Paris Exhibition of

Iranian Art," *Ars Islamica*, V (1938), 282 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Les Arts de l'Iran* . . . . The dates given are for MS arabe 6094: 619 H. (1222-23 A.D.); MS arabe 5847: 634 H. (1237 A.D.); MS arabe 3929: second quarter of the thirteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> The standard edition of the *maḳāmāt* in Arabic by S. de Sacy, augmented by M. Reinaud and M. Derenbourg (Paris, 1847-53), 2 vols. English translation of *maḳāmāt* 1-26 by T. Chenery (London, 1867); of *maḳāmāt* 27-50 by F. Steingass, Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., III (London, 1898).

Eastern in origin.<sup>4</sup> The facts mentioned above seem to suggest that the origins of each of the three sets of Ḥarīrī miniatures should be studied separately. The intrinsic elements themselves, as well as the proportion of their mixture, must have been different for each one; those Byzantine elements, especially, which act as intermediary between the Hellenistic tradition and these Islamic miniatures, must appear in each manuscript in a new and different light.

The characteristics generally attributed to the school of Baghdad are not found in the miniatures of manuscript arabe 6094, the earlier of the two Paris Ḥarīrī manuscripts the date of which is known. These miniatures are much more reminiscent of Christian art than those in the other two. Although most are no longer in their original condition and are painted over and mended in an unskillful way,<sup>5</sup> it is still obvious that a large part of their pictorial repertoire as well as of their stylistic characteristics are directly derived from Byzantine painting. Some of them closely adhere to compositional schemes which are current in Greek Bible illustrations and are familiar to every student of Byzantine art. Thus, for instance, the last miniature of the manuscript, in which Abū Zaid bids farewell to his friends (*Fig. 1*),<sup>6</sup> corresponds fairly well to the composition of Job with his wife found in the Greek manuscript of St. Gregory Nazianzen in Paris (*Fig. 2*);<sup>7</sup> a similar miniature depicting Abū Zaid disguised as a pilgrim and addressing an assembly of fellow pilgrims on their way to Mecca (*Fig. 3*)<sup>8</sup> should be compared with the picture of Job with his friends from the Vatican Job manuscript gr. 749 (*Fig. 4*).<sup>9</sup> In other miniatures only certain groups are taken over from Byzantine manuscripts with slight variations: the governor of Merv receiving Abū Zaid (*Fig. 6*)<sup>10</sup> is similar to the group of the king of Israel with his two attendants receiving the prophet Elijah from a famous Greek manuscript of the Bible preserved in the Vatican (*Fig. 7*),<sup>11</sup> and whereas in this miniature the governor is shown sitting in the oriental manner, a similar picture from the same manuscript ("The Barber's Shop," *Fig. 8*)<sup>12</sup> indicates clearly that the scheme is derived from Byzantine art.<sup>13</sup> Groups of people standing in conversation (*Fig. 9*)<sup>14</sup> repeat a formula often used in Byzantine manuscripts (*Fig. 10*);<sup>15</sup> the motif of the arm embedded in the wide folds of the toga with one hand emerging from it in an eloquent gesture (*Fig. 3*) is familiar in Byzantine paint-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the introductory notes by E. de Lorey in the Catalogue of the exhibition cited above.

<sup>5</sup> This may be the reason for the fact that only very few miniatures from this interesting manuscript have hitherto been published. As most of the miniatures are practically unknown except to those few privileged scholars who were able to study the originals in Paris, I have thought it worth while to reproduce as many as possible in this article; in most miniatures the later additions are so obvious that it is not necessary to point them out in every single instance.

<sup>6</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the fiftieth *maḳāma*.

<sup>7</sup> Bibl. Nat., MS grec 510. Cf. H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1929), Pl. 27.

<sup>8</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the thirty-first

*maḳāma*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), Fig. 533.

<sup>10</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the thirty-eighth *maḳāma*.

<sup>11</sup> MS Vat. Reg. gr. 1; cf. Biblioteca Vaticana, *Collezione Paleografica Vaticana* (Milano, 1905), I, Pl. 14.

<sup>12</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the forty-seventh *maḳāma*.

<sup>13</sup> D.-C. Hesselring, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne* (Leyde, 1909), Fig. 25, and many similar examples.

<sup>14</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the first *maḳāma*.

<sup>15</sup> Bibl. Vat. gr. 699, fol. 114<sup>v</sup>: "Hezekiah and Isaiah."





FIG. 1—ABŪ ZAID BIDS FAREWELL TO FRIENDS  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 181<sup>v</sup>



FIG. 2—THE STORY OF JOB  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., GREC 510, FOL. 71<sup>v</sup>





FIG. 3—ABŪ ZAID ADDRESSES PILGRIMS TO MECCA  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 103<sup>v</sup>



FIG. 4—JOB AND HIS FRIENDS  
ROME, BIBLIOTECA VATICANA, GR. 749, FOL. 38



FIG. 5—MOSAIC: ST. PAUL  
HOSIOS LUCAS, GREECE



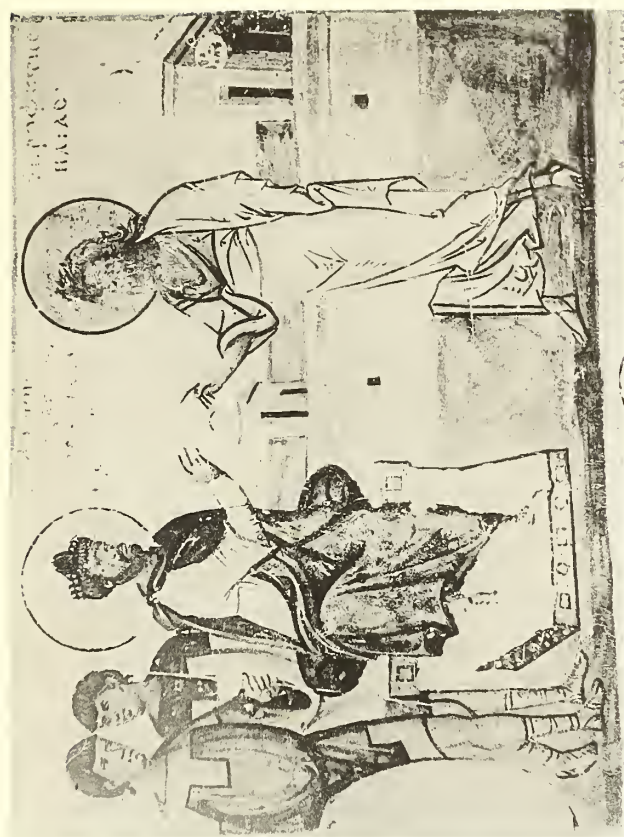


FIG. 7—ELIJAH AND THE KING OF ISRAEL  
ROME, BIBLIOTHECA VATICANA, REG. GR. I, FOL. 302<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 8—THE BARBER'S SHOP  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 174



FIG. 6—ABŪ ZAID BEFORE THE GOVERNOR OF MERV  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 133<sup>v</sup>.





FIG. 9—ABŪ ZAID ADDRESSING A CROWD AT SAN'Ā  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 6



FIG. 10—HEZEKIAH AND ISAIAH (DETAIL)  
ROME, BIBLIOTECA VATICANA, GR. 699, FOL. 114<sup>v</sup>.





FIG. 11—DAVID ANOINTED BY SAMUEL (DETAIL)  
ROME, BIBLIOTECA VATICANA, REG. GR. 1, FOL. 263



FIG. 12—THE EVANGELIST MATTHEW (DETAIL)  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., SUPPL. GR. 905, FOL. 54<sup>v</sup>



FIG. 13—ABŪ ZAID PREACHING IN THE MOSQUE OF SAMARKAND  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 93





FIG. 14—ABŪ ZAID PREACHING AT A FUNERAL (DETAIL)  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 33<sup>v</sup>



FIG. 15—MOSAIC: THE WASHING OF THE FEET (DETAIL)  
HOSIOS LUCAS, GREECE



FIG. 16—ABŪ ZAID IN A MOSQUE  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 49<sup>v</sup>





FIG. 17—ILL, ABŪ ZAID ENTERTAINS FRIENDS  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 59<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 18—ST. THEODORE STRATELATES  
ROME, BIBLIOTECA VATICANA, GR. 1613, FOL. 383





FIG. 19—ABŪ ZAID ASKING FOR ALMS  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 11



FIG. 20—MOSAIC: CHRIST AND ST. THOMAS  
MONREALE (SICILY)



ing (*Fig. 11*).<sup>16</sup> The heads of bearded persons (*Abū Zaid, Fig. 13*)<sup>17</sup> repeat a Byzantine type (*Fig. 12*);<sup>18</sup> in one instance it is even obvious that a head (*Fig. 3*)<sup>19</sup> is copied from some Byzantine picture of St. Paul (*Fig. 5*).<sup>20</sup> Heads drawn in profile are seldom found in Byzantine art, and accordingly occur in this manuscript only on rare occasions. One of these heads, that of the first person in the funeral party (*Fig. 14*),<sup>21</sup> offers an excellent point of comparison with that of one of the apostles from the mosaic of the washing of the feet at Hosios Lucas (*Fig. 15*).<sup>22</sup> The bearded man raising his hand to the mouth in Figure 16,<sup>23</sup> a motif well known in classical antiquity and taken over by Byzantine art,<sup>24</sup> has a counterpart, for instance, in a miniature from the Vatican Bible manuscript mentioned above (*Fig. 11*).

The architectures, too, though generally strangely distorted, can be traced back to Byzantine models. Some, with a plain arch emphasizing the main content of the miniature (*Fig. 17*),<sup>25</sup> correspond fairly well to those surrounding many figures of saints in the Vatican menologium (*Fig. 18*),<sup>26</sup> whereas the tripartite architecture which appears in most of our miniatures (*Fig. 19*)<sup>27</sup> is found in a similar way in the mosaics of Monreale (*Fig. 20*).

It is evident, however, that by no means all pictorial types in these miniatures derive from Byzantine art. Especially, a group of seated persons (*Fig. 16*), corresponding in its compositional function to that of the standing figures discussed above, is of Eastern, non-Hellenistic origin and probably reflects a formula familiar to earlier Persian painting;<sup>28</sup> and occasionally there are even figures of Mongolian type (*Fig. 3*)<sup>29</sup> which are known from roughly contemporary Islamic paintings from Persia proper (*Fig. 21*).<sup>30</sup>

The repertoire of types and formulae used throughout this manuscript is rather limited. A study of the whole set of miniatures reveals that certain groups reappear many times and that the same types and motifs are found in different places with only slight variations.<sup>31</sup> All these elements, drawn from such different sources, are welded and combined in a strange and lively

<sup>16</sup> *Collezione Paleografica Vaticana*, Pl. 12.

<sup>17</sup> The preacher to the left; this miniature is an illustration to the twenty-eighth *maḳāma*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, Fig. 19.

<sup>19</sup> The second bearded person from the left in the group of standing figures.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), Fig. 40.

<sup>21</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the eleventh *maḳāma*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Diez and Demus, *op. cit.*, Fig. 9.

<sup>23</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the sixteenth *maḳāma*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter, Studies of the Warburg Institute*, II (London, 1938), 29.

<sup>25</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the nineteenth *maḳāma*.

<sup>26</sup> Biblioteca Vaticana, *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*,

8: *Il Menologio di Basilio* (Torino, 1907), II, Pl. 383.

<sup>27</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the third *maḳāma*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf., e.g., Sasanian silver dishes (I. Smirnov, *Argenterie orientale* [St. Petersburg, 1909], Pl. 35) and Manichaean miniatures (H. Glück, *Die Christliche Kunst des Ostens* [Berlin, 1923], Fig. 5).

<sup>29</sup> The figure on the extreme right.

<sup>30</sup> This miniature, from a Sufi manuscript in the British Museum, depicts the constellation Gemini (cf. Holter, *op. cit.*, No. 7).

<sup>31</sup> Cf., e.g., the groups to the right in Figures 1 and 32 and to the left in Figure 9, or the sitting people in Figures 13, 17, and 19; the youth stepping forward in the center of Figure 8 is found again in Figure 22 (which is an illustration to the eighth *maḳāma*), Figure 32, and in several other places (cf. E. Kühnel, "Die bagdader Malerschule auf der Ausstellung iranischer Kunst in Paris 1938," *Pantheon*, XIX [1939], fig. on p. 204).

manner to form homogeneous pictures giving the impression of a very personal style, though in most instances the Byzantine heritage in the types and compositions remains the outstanding characteristic.

It has already been observed that of all thirteenth-century Islamic miniatures, the Paris manuscript arabe 3465<sup>32</sup> offers most points of comparison with this Ḥarīrī manuscript.<sup>33</sup> It contains an Arabic version of the *Fables* of Bidpai (*Kalilah and Dimnah*)<sup>34</sup> and is adorned with nearly one hundred miniatures. Many are illustrations of animal fables and, accordingly, show but few human figures, but others refer to those stories through which the different fables are connected in a manner resembling the general outlines of the *Arabian Nights*, and these display a number of figural compositions. Unfortunately, these miniatures have been touched up, by a hand still more unskillful than that in manuscript arabe 6094; the faces especially have been treated so badly that most of them are no longer in their original condition. This fact should be taken into account when the manuscript is studied.

Although the Arabic translation of these fables by Ibn al-Muḳaffa' was made as early as 750 A.D., and therefore a pictorial tradition going back to earlier centuries may have existed with the Arabs, Byzantine models are drawn upon and absorbed in exactly the same way as in the Ḥarīrī manuscript studied above. An example of this may be seen in the dialogue composition showing a seated king who is addressed by a person standing with his right arm stretched forward (*Fig. 23*),<sup>35</sup> which exactly corresponds to a widespread Byzantine formula (*Fig. 24*);<sup>36</sup> or a similar type of picture where the person addressing the king is kneeling on the ground (*Fig. 25*),<sup>37</sup> thus repeating the familiar scheme of David's penitence (*Fig. 26*).<sup>38</sup> Both these compositions recur half a dozen times each in the Bidpai manuscript.<sup>39</sup>

Now this manuscript is much more closely related to the Ḥarīrī arabe 6094 than has hitherto been admitted. A large number of stylistic features, of types and compositions, and even of particularities and unusual details can be observed which are common to both manuscripts. One may compare, for instance, Abū Zaid advancing from the left in Figure 19 with the cadi from *Kalilah and Dimnah* (*Fig. 27*);<sup>40</sup> the type of face with the moustache and beard, as well as the turban and the way in which it is covered by the cloak drawn over the head, is exactly the same. Very similar faces are found again in Figure 29, in which Abū Zaid addresses

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Holter, *op. cit.*, No. 26; and Buchthal, Kurz, and Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne* (Bruges, 1936), p. 69.

<sup>34</sup> On the translations of these fables into Arabic and other Oriental languages, cf. the article "Kalila wa-Dimna" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (Leyden, London, 1927), II, 694-98. An Arabic edition (Père Cheikh) was printed in Beirut (1905); there is an English translation from the Arabic by W. Knatchbull, *Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai* (Oxford, 1819). In the following notes I refer to this edition.

<sup>35</sup> This miniature represents the king in conversation

with his friend Ilādh; cf. Knatchbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 330 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Psalter, MS 608; cf. G. Millet and S. der Nersessian, "Le Psautier arménien illustré," *Revue des études arméniennes*, IX (1929), Pl. 13, No. 2.

<sup>37</sup> This miniature refers to the introductory chapter: "Bidpai in Conversation with the King."

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Omont, *op. cit.*, Pl. 33.

<sup>39</sup> Cf., e.g., Figs. 31 and 38.

<sup>40</sup> The father of the swindler sits on the tree which the judge orders to be burnt; cf. Knatchbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.



a congregation in a mosque,<sup>41</sup> and in Figure 28, in which the *cadi* is depicted giving judgment.<sup>42</sup> The particular manner of drawing the contours of beard and hair in such a way as to join above the ear and to leave for the ear a small curved space<sup>43</sup> reappears in the Bidpai manuscript (*Fig. 30*);<sup>44</sup> the strange feature of an unduly long and stretched throat, which characterizes Abū Zaid in Figure 32,<sup>45</sup> can be observed in the Bidpai illustrations as well (*Fig. 31*);<sup>46</sup> and even the Mongolian face with its protruding lips, from Figure 3, is found again in the miniature representing the fable of the unicorn (*Fig. 33*). The person from Figure 17 lying with the left foot stretched out and the right knee raised can also be traced in the Bidpai manuscript (*Fig. 34*);<sup>47</sup> the two sets of semicircular folds which in each instance cover the left leg show clearly that both figures were derived from the same prototype. In standing figures the habit of depicting one knee somewhat forward, in front of the body, so as to form a curved outline, which is found several times among the Ḥarīrī illustrations (cf. *Figs. 1, 9, and 32*), is apparent in our manuscript in many places (cf. *Fig. 35*).<sup>48</sup>

The architecture is very similar in both manuscripts and is characteristically different from that in all other Islamic miniatures of the period. It mostly consists of a juxtaposition of rooms supported by very thin columns. Some have a horizontal ceiling, and others are covered by a plain arch (cf. *Figs. 17 and 36*).<sup>49</sup> Architecture consisting of three parts is typical for the Ḥarīrī manuscript, a large room in the center with two smaller symmetrical ones on both sides (cf. *Figs. 19 and 37*);<sup>50</sup> the Bidpai miniatures generally have buildings of unsymmetrical form (cf. *Fig. 34*). Closer study reveals that these smaller compartments are only unskillful attempts at giving a perspective view of the central room (*Fig. 38*)<sup>51</sup> and are copied from Byzantine doorway entrances. Some pictures include even a pointed arch (*Figs. 13, 39*).<sup>52</sup> The

<sup>41</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the twenty-first *maḳāma*.

<sup>42</sup> The man has cut off the nose of the wife; cf. Knatchbull, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>43</sup> Cf., e.g., the figure on the extreme right of Figure 19.

<sup>44</sup> Barzūya with king Nūshīrwān; cf. Knatchbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>45</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the twenty-third *maḳāma*.

<sup>46</sup> This miniature refers to the same story as that illustrated in Figure 30.

<sup>47</sup> The monk who breaks with his stick the jar in which his provisions are kept; cf. Knatchbull, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

<sup>48</sup> The merchant has his goods carried away from his own store; cf. Knatchbull, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>49</sup> The doctor heals the daughter of the king; cf. Knatchbull, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>50</sup> The Ḥarīrī miniature is an illustration to the eighteenth *maḳāma*. It has already been mentioned that this type of tripartite architecture is derived from Byzantine painting (p. 127); Otto Demus kindly drew my atten-

tion to the fact that architecture of this kind is found in central and south Italian painting under Byzantine influence from the late eleventh century onward; cf. the frescoes in the basilicas of the Lateran and San Clemente in Rome: J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien* (Freiburg i. B., 1916), IV, Pls. 238-41. The last-named fresco contains also the lamps hanging from the ceiling which are found again in several of the Ḥarīrī miniatures; cf. Figures 13 and 16.

<sup>51</sup> This miniature shows the king in conversation with his wife *Irakht*; cf. Knatchbull, *op. cit.*, p. 321. Similarly, a miniature in the Vienna Galen manuscript can be adduced in which it is obvious that this type of architecture is meant to give a perspective view: cf. K. Holter, "Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Hariri der Wiener Nationalbibliothek," *Jahrb. d. kunst-historischen Samml. in Wien*, N.F., XI (1937), Fig. 5.

<sup>52</sup> The miniature from the Bidpai manuscript shows King Dābshalīm receiving Bidpai and his pupils; cf. Knatchbull, *op. cit.*, p. 17. The pointed arch in both these miniatures possibly reflects the influence of the Crusaders' architecture on this group of Islamic miniatures.

horizontal ceilings are adorned with various ornaments which are often exactly the same in both manuscripts.<sup>53</sup>

The furniture offers similar points of comparison: the low bench decorated with a scroll ornament and adorned with elaborately carved feet, on which a king or dignitary is seated, is found in a Ḥarīrī miniature (*Fig. 32*) and in a Bidpai illustration (*Fig. 23*); the seat of the *cadi* is very similar in Figures 22 and 28. There are jugs of identical form in the Ḥarīrī miniature (*Fig. 37*) and in the Bidpai manuscript (*Fig. 38*, and in two other places). Finally, it should be mentioned that frequently the plants with their regular leaves and pointed buds are the same in both manuscripts (*Figs. 40 and 42*).<sup>54</sup>

These comparisons are sufficient evidence to prove that the two manuscripts were produced by the same school of illumination: they display an artistic tradition of their own, characteristically different from that in the other Paris Ḥarīrī manuscripts, and from that of the school which in the earlier part of the thirteenth century flourished in Baghdad.<sup>55</sup> As compared with other contemporary Islamic schools, the chief feature of this group is its debt to Byzantine tradition. Most elements and formulae of composition are derived from Christian art and are reproduced without much change of their artistic identity; those elements in our miniatures which have oriental, non-Hellenistic models, are adapted to the general character of the illustration in much the same way that Christian artists might have done. Miniatures from Baghdad, on the other hand, are of an essentially Islamic, non-Hellenistic character; and when their repertoire is enriched by elements taken from Byzantine art, the stylistic qualities of the Christian models become submerged in the eastern "Baghdad" style so that their origin is sometimes difficult to trace.<sup>56</sup> One group of miniatures, however, is so near to Byzantine painting that we have to refer to external characteristics, such as costumes, furniture, and the like, in order to recognize them as works of an Islamic artist. A somewhat more liberal and untraditional handling of the compositions and of the general arrangement is one of the few features by which these miniatures can be distinguished from genuine Byzantine creations.

The similarity which exists between our group and Byzantine painting will help, also, to define the relationship of the two manuscripts. Similar motifs of folds, drapery, and so on, derived from Hellenistic models, appear in both and allow of detailed comparisons (cf. *Figs. 6 and 31*). The princes in both miniatures are clad in coats—of different make—which display similar systems of folds. Those in the Bidpai illustration, based on a Hellenistic scheme, are given in a soft and even flow, with a gradual interchange of light and shade (*Fig. 31*); the folds in the Ḥarīrī figure (*Fig. 6*), somewhat more independent from the natural flow of the

<sup>53</sup> Compare the interlaced designs in Figure 8 and Figure 38; the scrolls in Figures 16, 17 (left), and 22, and in Figures 23, 28, and 35; or the ornaments in Figures 13 and 17 (right) and in Figures 38 (left), 39 (left), and 41. Figure 41 depicts the monk entertaining his guest while mice feed on his provisions.

<sup>54</sup> The Ḥarīrī miniature, Figure 40, is an illustration to the fourth *maḥāma*.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. H. Buchthal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Bagdhād," to be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Journ. Walters Art Gallery*.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. F. R. Martin's Dioscorides miniatures and the "Schefer" Ḥarīrī manuscript, whose relations to Hellenistic art are studied in the article mentioned in the previous note.





FIG. 21—THE CONSTELLATION GEMINI  
LONDON, BRIT. MUS., OR. 5323, FOL. 41



FIG. 22—ABŪ ZAID AND HIS SON BEFORE THE CADI  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 25



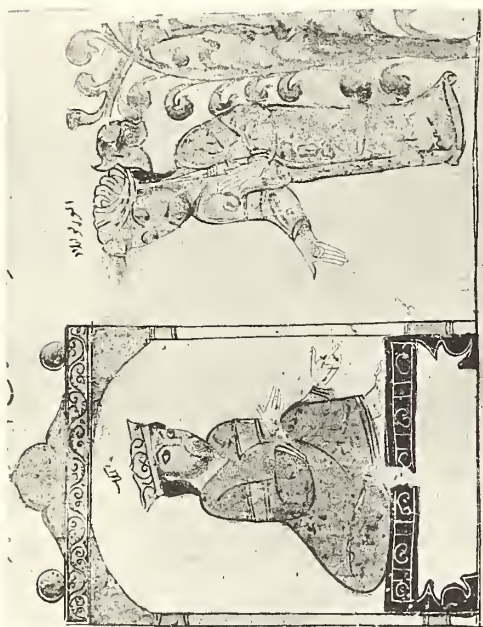


FIG. 23—THE KING AND HIS FRIEND ILĀDH  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 134<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 25—BIDPAI AND THE KING  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 15<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 24—JONAH AND THE KING OF NINEVEH (DETAIL)  
MOUNT ATHOS, VATOPEDI 608, FOL. 283



FIG. 26—DAVID AND NATHAN (DETAIL)  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., GR. 510, FOL. 143<sup>v</sup>.





FIG. 27—THE JUDGE CONDEMNING A MAN  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 69<sup>v</sup>



FIG. 28—THE MONK BEFORE THE JUDGE  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 55



FIG. 29—ABŪ ZAID PREACHING AT RAYY  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 64<sup>v</sup>





FIG. 30—BARZŪYA AND KING NŪSHĪRWĀN  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 23<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 31—BARZŪYA AND KING NŪSHĪRWĀN  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 20<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 32—ABŪ ZAID AND HIS SON BEFORE THE GOVERNOR OF BAGHDAD  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 70<sup>v</sup>.





FIG. 33—THE STORY OF THE UNICORN  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 43<sup>v</sup>.

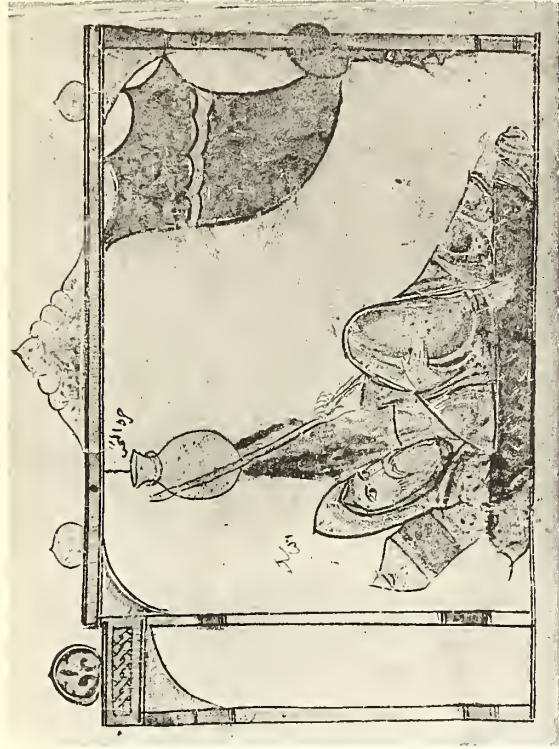


FIG. 34—MONK BREAKING A JAR  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 115<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 35—THIEVES IN A SHOP  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 30<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 36—THE DOCTOR HEALING THE PRINCESS  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 78





FIG. 37—A WEDDING CELEBRATION  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 55



FIG. 38—THE KING AND HIS WIFE IRAKHT  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 131<sup>v</sup>



FIG. 39—BIDPAI AND KING DABSHALĪM  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 10





FIG. 40—NIGHT HALT OF A CARAVAN  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 13



FIG. 41—THE MONK AND HIS GUEST  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 89<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 42—THE FOX AND THE DRUM  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 51





FIG. 43—LITERARY ASSEMBLY IN SHIRAZ  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 6094, FOL. 124



FIG. 44—THE THIEVES AND THE MONK  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 101



FIG. 45—ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., COPTÉ 13, FOL. 7





FIG. 46—MONKEY STEALING LENTILS  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., ARABE 3465, FOL. 135<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 47—ST. PETER AND ST. JOHN EXAMINING THE EMPTY TOMB  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., COPTE 13, FOL. 276<sup>v</sup>.



FIG. 48—CHRIST BEFORE PILATE  
PARIS, BIBL. NAT., COPTE 13, FOL. 82<sup>v</sup>.





garment, fall down in stiff and rigid lines. There are contrasts of light and shade, but they are hard and sudden and follow a strong rhythm of their own. Similarly, the folds on the cloak covering the leg of the recumbent figure in Figure 17 are hard and brittle as against the soft concentric system of Figure 34. An excellent comparison is offered, furthermore, by the garments of the old men on the left of Figure 43<sup>57</sup> and on the right of Figure 44.<sup>58</sup> The systems of folds falling down from the cloaks are of the same kind and both derive from Byzantine prototypes; but the soft Hellenistic modeling which to some extent survives in Figure 44 has in the Ḥarīrī miniature (*Fig. 43*) given way to a bold system of sharp lines. The immediate juxtaposition of highlights in white and deep valleys of black shadows indicates that the stylistic development has carried us far away from the organism of Hellenistic drapery designs. Similar results can be obtained from a comparison of the vegetation and the gradual process of stylization of trees, leaves, and so on; the Ḥarīrī miniatures, though generally of a higher artistic quality than the Bidpai illustration, represent a step further in the development away from Hellenistic painting, and must be of a later date. Fortunately, the painter of the Ḥarīrī manuscript has recorded the date of the work on two of his miniatures—619 H. (1222–23 A.D.).<sup>59</sup> If the difference between the two manuscripts is due to a continuous stylistic development, the Bidpai miniatures must be of slightly earlier origin and should be dated at about 1200–1220 A.D.<sup>60</sup>

It remains for us to establish the place where the school of illumination flourished to which these two manuscripts belong. Unfortunately, it is not possible to give a definite answer to this question. All that can be said *a priori* is that these miniatures in all probability do not come from a district so remote from the shores of the Mediterranean as Mesopotamia, but from a country where direct contact with Christian art was frequent and easy. This would point to one of the minor courts of the local Seljuk princes in Syria or Asia Minor. Though no final evidence is available, two arguments can be put forward which are strongly in favor of this hypothesis. One is the remarkable similarity which exists between some of the architectural forms in manuscript arabe 3465 and the contemporary architecture of northern Syria and Seljuk Asia Minor. The cusped arch in Figure 31, for example, is one of the characteristic features of the chief minaret of the Great Mosque in Aleppo, dating from the last years of the eleventh century;<sup>61</sup> the regular alternation of a pointed and a plain arch, as in Figure 39, is an

<sup>57</sup> This miniature is an illustration to the thirty-fifth *maḳāma*.

<sup>58</sup> This miniature illustrates the story of the monk who meets three thieves who try to persuade him that his goat is only a dog; cf. Knatchbull, *op cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. E. Blochet, "Peintures des manuscrits arabes à types byzantins," *Revue archéol.*, I (1907), 201–2. One of the dated miniatures is reproduced in Blochet, *Musliman Painting* (London, 1929), Pl. 17.

<sup>60</sup> Another indication of the difference in date may be seen in the fact that the Bidpai miniatures retain the Christian halo in many of the figural representations,

whereas in the Ḥarīrī manuscript not a single instance of the nimbus can be found: evidently the Ḥarīrī artist, working a couple of years later, had a more independent attitude toward tradition and omitted this relic of Byzantine art which the Bidpai painter had not yet dared to discard.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. E. Herzfeld, "Mschattâ, Hîra und Bâdiya. Die Mittelländer des Islam und ihre Baukunst," *Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsaml.*, XLII (1921), 141, Pl. 8a. Herzfeld's final work on the monuments of Aleppo, to which he refers in this article, has not yet been published.

ornament traceable in Aleppo in the twelfth century<sup>62</sup> and known all over northern Syria;<sup>63</sup> and the two interlaced cusped arches of Figure 30 are motifs decorating mimbars and doorways in Aleppo and Konya from the early thirteenth century onward,<sup>64</sup> and surviving for a long period all over Syria (Aleppo and Damascus),<sup>65</sup> as well as in Seljuk Asia Minor.<sup>66</sup> All these ornamental forms go back in some way to late antiquity;<sup>67</sup> they can be seen decorating most of the Early Christian churches in the neighborhood of Aleppo and Antioch and must have been evolved within Islamic art in that same region. Internal as well as chronological evidence seems to indicate that their reappearance in the mosques of the Seljuks of Rum was caused by Syrian influence.<sup>68</sup> This would mean that manuscript arabe 3465 should be looked upon as a product of the same artistic center to which this revival of late antique architectural ornament is due, to Syria, and more especially to the region round Aleppo.

The second point to which attention should be drawn is the curious similarity existing between both our manuscripts and the miniatures of the Paris manuscript copte 13.<sup>69</sup> These miniatures, painted in 1180 A.D. in the town of Damiatta, in the Delta of the Nile, have very little in common with earlier Coptic art. No other Coptic manuscript has come down which contains a similar cycle of New Testament scenes; if figural representations occur at all, they display a two-dimensional, hieratic style of a provincial character which is very different from that in our manuscript.<sup>70</sup> Coptic frescoes, too, are a mere provincial offshoot of Byzantine art and never show comprehensive narrative cycles.<sup>71</sup> Our miniatures, on the other hand, are very reminiscent of those in manuscripts from early Byzantine times which were produced in Syria or Asia Minor: the agitated and expressive character of the illustration and the dynamic rhythm

<sup>62</sup> *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und West-arabien*, 1918, Pl. 41.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg, 1910), Fig. 305; and H. Glück and E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam: Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1925), V, Fig. 241.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 144, Fig. 17.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. K. Wulzinger and G. Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1924), Pl. 22a.

<sup>66</sup> The Seljuk monuments hitherto published are found in M. van Berchem and Halil Edhem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, III: Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1910); R. M. Riefstahl, "Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia," *Art Studies*, VIII (1930-31), Pt. 1, 95 ff.; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (Paris, 1931-34), Vols. 1 and 2. The ornamental form with which we are concerned here occurs very frequently and is to be found in most Seljuk monuments.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 140 f. with detailed references to H. C. Butler's publications of Early Christian

churches in Syria.

<sup>68</sup> The earliest surviving monument in Konya dates only from 1220 A.D.; a Syrian architect was summoned from Damascus. The architecture as well as the decorations and ornaments are derived from the art of other Islamic countries where at the time when they were copied by the Seljuks they were already "old-fashioned," cf. F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst* (Berlin, 1901-10), p. 140.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *A Handlist of Eastern Christian Manuscripts* (in press).

<sup>70</sup> The finest collection of early Coptic illuminated manuscripts is in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York; cf. *The Art of Egypt Through the Ages*, E. D. Ross, ed. (London, 1931), p. 255. An example for the style usual in Coptic illumination at the end of the twelfth century is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hunt. 17, cf. Buchthal and Kurz, *op. cit.*, and J. O. Westwood, *Palaeographia sacra pictoria* (London, 1845), fig. on p. 27.

<sup>71</sup> Cf., e.g., *Art of Egypt*, Pl. 249.3.



should be compared with those in the Rabula and Rossano *Gospels*,<sup>72</sup> and in many instances, iconographical formulae reappear which are characteristic of these manuscripts from the Asiatic hinterland of the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>73</sup> It is quite possible that one must revert to these regions in order to trace the artistic sources of our Coptic miniatures.

The manuscript contains, moreover, a conspicuous number of Islamic motifs and features which are intruders into the Christian repertoire, similar to those which can be observed in contemporary Syriac manuscripts from northern Mesopotamia.<sup>74</sup> It is our group of Paris arabe 3465 and arabe 6094 which offers most points of comparison for these Islamic elements. For instance, Pilate on Figure 48 is depicted in an attitude very much like that of the governor of Baghdad in Figure 32. Such examples could be multiplied at will; in particular, many pieces of Islamic furniture should be noted.<sup>75</sup> The vegetation, too, seems in both groups to be drawn from the same pictorial repertoire: the trees in Figures 33 and 45 and strips of grass indicating the ground in Figures 46 and 47.<sup>76</sup> Architectural ornaments in this Coptic manuscript are found in many Islamic miniatures of the time and correspond to forms familiar in the Islamic architecture of Syria and Mesopotamia.

Thus, it seems highly probable that as early as 1180 A.D. a syncretistic pictorial tradition existed with the Arabs in Syria, Mediterranean in character, though Islamic in its outward appearance, to which both the illustrator of the Coptic Gospels and the illuminators of our Islamic manuscripts were indebted. This theory would meet the problem of the origin of the Coptic miniatures, which were produced in a town lying at the northeastern end of the Delta, not far from the Syrian frontier and nearer to the centers of Syrian culture than to many a Coptic monastery in Upper Egypt: the New Testament cycle, which has nothing particularly Coptic about it and could as well have originated in Syria, was enriched through elements and motifs taken from the contemporary art of the Islamic rulers of the country. The theory would explain the peculiar features of the two Islamic manuscripts which are the subject of the present enquiry: they should not be confused with products of the Baghdad school, but should be regarded as Islamic offshoots of Hellenistic culture in the eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>72</sup> The complete series of the marginal miniatures in the Rabula manuscript is reproduced in C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln* (Göteborg, 1938), Pls. 130-48. For the Rossanensis, cf. A. Muñoz, *Il Cordice purpureo di Rossano* (Rome, 1907).

<sup>73</sup> Compare, e.g., "The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem" in copte 13 (reproduced in W. S. Cook's "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia V," *Art. Bull.*, X [1927], Fig. 28), with the Rossanensis miniature (Muñoz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2). Many points of comparison are found between New Testament scenes in copte 13 and

in the Rabula manuscript.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. H. Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art," *Syria*, XX (1939), 136-50.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *Art Bull.*, XX (1938), Fig. 36. I hope to make the illustration of this Coptic manuscript the subject of a separate enquiry.

<sup>76</sup> This miniature illustrates the story of the man who falls asleep under a tree while a monkey steals the lentils out of his bundle.

## FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE *KALILAH AND DIMNAH* BY BASIL GRAY

IT HAPPENS THAT THE SURVIVAL OF A RELATIVELY LARGE NUMBER OF EARLY PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS of the *Kalilah and Dimnah* of Bidpai with contemporary miniatures provides rather convenient comparative material for the study of the general problem of the evolution of the Mongol style into the Timurid style. By comparing the treatment, at different dates and in different localities, of the same or similar scenes it is possible to arrive at a just estimate of the evolution of styles and the diffusion of influences. In the process an interesting light may be thrown on the conservative force behind the treatment of the common subjects of Islamic miniature painting.

It may be as well at the beginning to list the seven principal manuscripts which form the material for this study. They are:

- (1.) Version of Naṣr Allah. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Suppl. pers. 1965. Fragment of a Persian version.

This manuscript, which formerly belonged to M. Marteau, was bequeathed by him to the Bibliothèque Nationale. Accounts of it were given by E. Blochet,<sup>1</sup> who assigned it to a date of about 1150; the present author in 1933 suggested a date of a little after 1300.<sup>2</sup> Stchoukine gave the date as 1330–40.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript was exhibited at the Bibliothèque Nationale Exhibition in the summer of 1938 (No. 23). In the catalogue it was dated 1330–40 and classed with the Shiraz manuscripts. Kühnel dated it to about 1250. K. Holter assigned this manuscript to the Mameluke school and dated it about 1300.

- (2.) Version of Naṣr Allah. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Pers. 2028 (ancien fonds persan 376). Copied by Abū Ṭāhir b. Abī Nāṣir b. Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Vidkatī.

Miniatures from this manuscript were assigned to about 1280 by Blochet<sup>4</sup> and also by Sakisian<sup>5</sup> and Kühnel.<sup>6</sup> In fact it bears the date 678 H. (1280 A.D.). But this cannot be the true date of either text or miniatures. In the catalogue of the exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 25) it was attributed to the second half of the fourteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> "Notices sur les manuscrits arabes et persans de la collection Marteau," *Notices et extraits publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, XLI (1923); *idem*, "Les Peintures des manuscrits persans de la collection Marteau à la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Fondation Eugène Piot: Monuments et Mémoires*, XXIII (1918–19). Reproductions from it are also to be found in Blochet's *Les Enluminures des manuscrits orientaux—turcs, arabes persans—de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1926), Pl. XVIII; and in his *Musulman Painting, XIIIth–XVIIIth Century* (London, 1929), Pl. II, "Eastern Iran, probably Ghazna."

<sup>2</sup> *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933), pp. 39–40.

<sup>3</sup> *La Peinture iranienne sous les derniers 'Abbāsides et les Îl-Khāns* (Bruges, 1936), No. XVIII.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Enluminures . . .*, Pl. XXII; *Musulman Painting . . .*, Pl. XL; also see "Notices sur les manuscrits . . .," pp. 331–32.

<sup>5</sup> *La Miniature persane* (Paris, 1929), Figs. 14 and 15.

<sup>6</sup> "A Bidpai Manuscript of 1343–44 in Cairo," *Bull. Amer. Inst. Iranian Art and Archaeol.*, V (1937), No. 2, 137.



- (3.) Version of Naṣr Allah. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Pers. 2031 (anc. fonds pers. 377).

Blochet called this manuscript west Persian, between 1250 and 1310,<sup>7</sup> later on he assigned it to about 1330,<sup>8</sup> and again later to Tabriz about 1340.<sup>9</sup> Kühnel said that this is "a date certainly half a century too early."<sup>10</sup> The manuscript was exhibited at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1938 (No. 28) and thought to be "near in style to the Shiraz style of 1393."

- (4.) Dispersed manuscript, formerly said to be dated 1237.

Fifteen pages of this were exhibited at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1938 (No. 22). Others are in the collection of Sir Bernard Eckstein, London (from the Anet Collection), and in the Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts.

The Paris catalogue states for the first time that the colophon gives the date of the manuscript as 733 H. (1333 A.D.) and locates it at Shiraz.<sup>11</sup>

- (5.) Version in Persian by Abu'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allah. Cairo. Royal Egyptian Library. Litt. pers. 61. Dated 744 H. (1343-44 A.D.).

Stchoukine<sup>12</sup> distinguished two groups, the first contemporary with the manuscript; the second at the end of the fourteenth century. Kühnel<sup>13</sup> saw no reason to suppose the existence of two groups and situated the artist at Tabriz.

- (6.) Istanbul. University Library. No. 3818/1. Formerly at Yıldız Palace. Fragments of twenty-five pages mounted in an album.

Sakisian assigned this manuscript to Eastern Persia, eleventh century,<sup>14</sup> Gray to Tabriz, about 1350,<sup>15</sup> Stchoukine first attributed it to the mid-fourteenth century, with a part of it of later date, probably about 1400;<sup>16</sup> he modified this later, stating that the date of the first group was toward the middle of the fourteenth century, and the second about 1350. Kühnel located it at Herat about 1340.<sup>17</sup> The album was made for Shah Tahmasp, but added to later.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 332-41.

<sup>8</sup> *Les Enluminures* . . . , Pl. XXIX.

<sup>9</sup> *Musulman Painting* . . . , Pls. LXVI and LXVII.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>11</sup> Miniatures are reproduced in G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniature persane* (Paris, 1912), Pls. III and XLIV; E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient* (Berlin, 1923), Pl. 19; C. Anet, "Exhibition of Persian Miniatures at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris—I," *Burlington Mag.*, XII (1912), Pl. I (B) and (C); L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933), Pl. XI.

<sup>12</sup> "Les Manuscrits illustrés musulmans de la Bibliothèque du Caire," *Gazette des beaux arts*, LXXVII (1935), 140-41, Figs. 5 and 7; *idem*, *La Peinture iranienne* . . . , No. XXIV.

<sup>13</sup> "A Bidpai Manuscript of 1343-44 in Cairo," pp. 137-41.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pls. III-X; *idem*, "L'École de miniature pré-mongole de la Perse orientale," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, VII (1931).

<sup>15</sup> "Die Kalila wa-Dimna Handschrift der Universität Istanbul," *Pantheon*, VI (1933), 280-82.

<sup>16</sup> I. Stchoukine and F. Edhem Bey, *Les Manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul* (Paris, 1933), pp. 40-43; Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, No. XXX.

<sup>17</sup> "History of Miniature Painting and Drawing," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), III, 1837; the label under Plates 843-44 is Khurāsān school (?), middle fourteenth century.

(7.) Rampur. State Library.<sup>18</sup>

Kühnel has lately devoted a short article to No. 5 of the above manuscripts, in which he attributes it to Tabriz. While retaining the same attribution of locality for the Demotte *Shah Namah*, he would locate the Istanbul University pages at Herat. He also still accepts the thirteenth-century date for the dispersed manuscript and for No. 2. The same conclusions are to be found in his contribution to the *Survey of Persian Art*. Since these conclusions seem to the author to make it extremely difficult to envisage the development of Timurid style in any orderly way, it may be worth while to examine the whole position rather more closely.

One cannot help being struck by the fact that most of these manuscripts date from or have been assigned to the same brief period of about fifteen years between 1330 and 1345 and yet show a great diversity of style.

The intimate connection between text and illustration of the book of Bidpai has several times been pointed out, and in fact the illustrations are expressly mentioned in the preface. So far as modern Persian art versions are concerned the earliest that we know of is the poetic one by Rūdakī. A contemporary copy of this is said to have been illustrated by a Chinese painter for Naṣr b. Ahmed the Samanid, about 920 A.D. But this information is not to be taken literally. It may well be a true indication of the fact that this was the first Persian book to be illustrated with miniatures. But there can be no question that they would have been copied from the Arabic version of Ibn al-Muḳaffa' from which the work was immediately derived. The earliest Persian prose version is that of Naṣr Allah, made about 1150 A.D. for the Ghaznevid ruler Bahram Shah. All the manuscripts here discussed are copies of this version.

Blochét held that the illustrated pages bequeathed by Marteau to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (our No. 1) were from a copy contemporary with Naṣr Allah, and fancied that they belonged to eastern Khurasan, of the neighborhood of Ghazna. No other writer has accepted this dating, and the one proposed is generally between 1300 and 1350. Kühnel, however, in his contribution to the *Survey of Persian Art*<sup>19</sup> suggested a date of about 1250 or even earlier. This is, apparently, due to the close connection which he sees between them and the manuscript of the *Kitāb-i Samak 'Ayyār* in the Bodleian Library. They share a feature also with the "1237" dispersed leaves, in the colored backgrounds (No. 4). This, Kühnel argues most convincingly, is an indication of old Iranian influence or survival. He would regard it as confirming a date before the Mongol invaders introduced a new style and influence. This has long seemed to the present writer a doubtful point. If early Iranian influence could survive so much, it was not likely to be eliminated altogether by the fresh strains introduced by the Mongols from Central Asia and China. The suspicion receives some support, for it turns out that the date of 1237 which has been assigned to those pages since they were first shown in Paris in 1912 is not warranted. The frontispiece and colophon still exist in a private collection in Paris. Their joint evidence is quite conclusive. The colophon (*Fig. 2*) reads: "Yaḥyā ibn

<sup>18</sup> See O. C. Gangoly, "An Illustrated Manuscript of *Anwār-i-Suhaylī*," *Rupam*, Nos. 42-44 (1931).

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 1831.



Muhammad ibn Yaḥyā, who (i.e., the last named) was known as Dūdī, finished writing it on Wednesday, fifteenth *Dhu'l-Ḳa'da*—33 H."<sup>20</sup> The number of hundreds is obscured by a tear. That it was not six, but seven, and that the date of completion, therefore, is equivalent to 1333 A.D. can be proved. In the year 733, the fifteenth *Dhu'l-Ḳa'da* fell on a Wednesday, but in 633 it was on a Monday. Moreover, the manuscript has a characteristic fourteenth-century title page (*Fig. 1*). The elaborate lotus ornament is not found before about 1300.<sup>21</sup> The frontispiece is not inserted, but has been executed on the obverse of the first page of the text. In addition to the title, contained in the cartouches at top and bottom, it bears the name of the man who commissioned it in four roundels: "The owner and the possessor of it, 'Abd al-Salām ibn Muhammad." Unfortunately, it has not yet proved possible to trace anyone of this name.

The miniatures of this dispersed manuscript of 1333, as M. Claude Anet<sup>22</sup> noted when he published them for the first time in 1912, show a clear descent from older Iranian work on wall as well as on paper. Alone in this manuscript the blue is employed as a background as well as the red, which we know from small fragments remaining to have been equally usual in wall painting.

But the closest relationship both in detail of costume and in compositional organization is with the well-known group of *Shah Namah* manuscripts produced at Shiraz between 1330 and 1341.<sup>23</sup> This is quite clear from a comparison of the miniatures of this Shiraz school with those showing human figures in the *Kalilah and Dimnah* of 1333. For instance, there is the scene of the raja seated in his court, formerly in the Vignier Collection,<sup>24</sup> where the representation of folds and dress patterns is no more strikingly similar to the Shiraz style of the period than is the way in which the miniature is put on the page. There is the same concentration on the main feature of the scene to be represented, the same elimination of foreground and background, and the same occupation of the entire picture space with the figures of the main composition. Equally striking are the resemblances in another miniature from this manuscript which passed from the Claude Anet Collection into that of Sir Bernard Eckstein (*Fig. 3*). Here the well-known subject of the thief hiding beneath the bed is illustrated with all the formalism of the most primitive of the Shiraz miniatures, especially near perhaps to those of the *Shah Namah* shown in the 1931 exhibition in London by Mrs. Stephens (*Fig. 4*). The symmetrical brick arches which fill the corners of the composition are characteristic of this manuscript, but are merely an extreme evidence of a tendency observed throughout the Shiraz school.

It is interesting to dwell on the uncolored ground of this miniature. Far from being an exception to the principle of the opaque background, the white paper here just as effectively

<sup>20</sup> The author is indebted to M. Minovi for kindly verifying the reading of the colophon and of the inscriptions on the title page.

<sup>21</sup> R. Ettinghausen, "Manuscript Illumination," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), III, 1957; V, Pl. 946A.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. B. Gray, "Iranian Painting of the 14th Century," *Proc. Iran. Soc.*, I, 5 (1938), 55. Exhibited in the Fogg Art Museum, 1937.

<sup>24</sup> Reproduced by Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Pl. 19.

limits the composition to a single plane and places it in indefinite space. This is an important point to notice, for it has its bearing in the consideration of the little Marteau pages in the Bibliothèque Nationale, mentioned above.

The small size of these miniatures necessitates extreme simplicity of composition, but this does not prevent us from seeing a clear close connection between some of these miniatures<sup>25</sup> and those of the manuscript of 1333. One<sup>26</sup> is painted on a red ground, which Blochet described as a curtain on account of the flowers dotted on its surface. In yet another<sup>27</sup> a curtain is actually represented looped up. It is permissible to see here the new influence introduced by the Mongols affecting even this comparatively remote center of Shiraz and seeking to rationalize in a realistic way the opaque background of the old Persian school. In the other miniatures the ground is left white and, therefore, remains intact. Usually, some formalized floral motifs are introduced to fill any uncomfortably empty areas in the design. There seems sufficient evidence to connect this manuscript with the school of Shiraz, about 1330.

Kurt Holter has called attention to a feature which these miniatures of our manuscript No. 1 have in common with quite a different group of manuscripts, namely, the highly formalized curled ends of the drapery folds. When studying the drapery one is also struck by the flying ends in some of the miniatures,<sup>28</sup> which immediately recall Sasanian prototypes. As regards this feature, it is, of course, to be considered, as are the haloes, as a legacy from the old Iranian style. The view has already been put forward that it is not necessary on that account to attribute them, with Kühnel, to the thirteenth century, or with Blochet, to the twelfth century. The feature noted by Holter is used by him to connect the manuscript with a "Mameluke school" active in Mosul and Syria. It should be noted, however, that this peculiar drapery convention is found in its fullest development, as here, in six other manuscripts,<sup>29</sup> of which four bear dates in the fourteenth century. One of the others is probably, and the other certainly, to be assigned to the same century.

Both Buchthal and Holter have written on the origin of these folds. At the moment all that concerns us is that they are not an indication of early date, nor, since the Edinburgh al-Birūnī was certainly produced at Tabriz, are they an exclusively Mesopotamian feature. Just as the manuscripts from Shiraz bear some traces of the influence of the Mongol invasions, so also they manifest a connection with the school of Mesopotamia which Kühnel calls Seljuk and which may very possibly have taken its origin while the Seljuks were still in power. There is only a presumption that there was also a Seljuk miniature school in Persia, since nothing survives from it, and the archaic features in the Marteau Bidpai may, therefore, be taken either as sur-

<sup>25</sup> Blochet, *Les Enluminures . . .*, Pl. XVIII (a) and (d).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII (c).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII (b).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII (g) and (j).

<sup>29</sup> Viz., Vienna Galen; Vienna Ḥarīrī (734 H./1334 A.D.); Edinburgh University al-Birūnī (707 H./1307 A.D.); and the Bodleian Library Ḥarīrī (738 H./1337

A.D.); Bodleian Library *Kalilah and Dimnah* (in Arabic) 755 H. (1354 A.D.); and the similar, undated copy in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale 346). The Vienna Galen is dated by Kühnel ("History of Miniature Painting and Drawing," Pl. 812) to the first half of the thirteenth century; by Stchoukine (*op. cit.*, p. 96) to the second quarter of the fourteenth.





FIG. 1—FRONTISPIECE, KALILAH AND DIMNAH, 733 H. (1333 A.D.)  
PRIVATE COLLECTION, PARIS



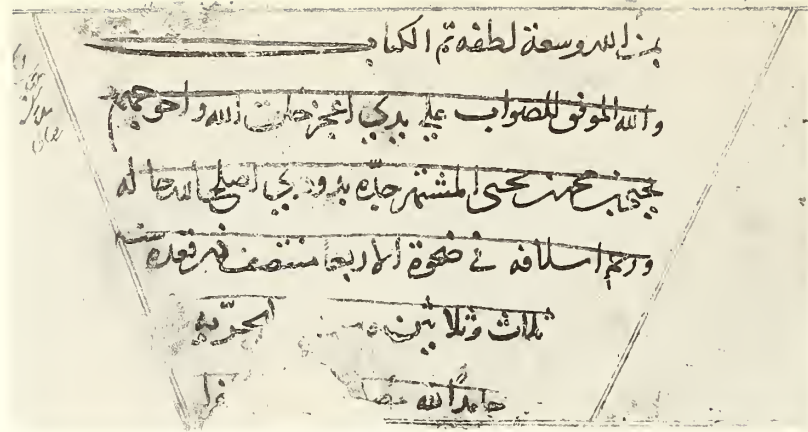


FIG. 2—COLOPHON, KALILAH AND DIMNAH, 733 H.  
PARIS, PRIVATE COLLECTION

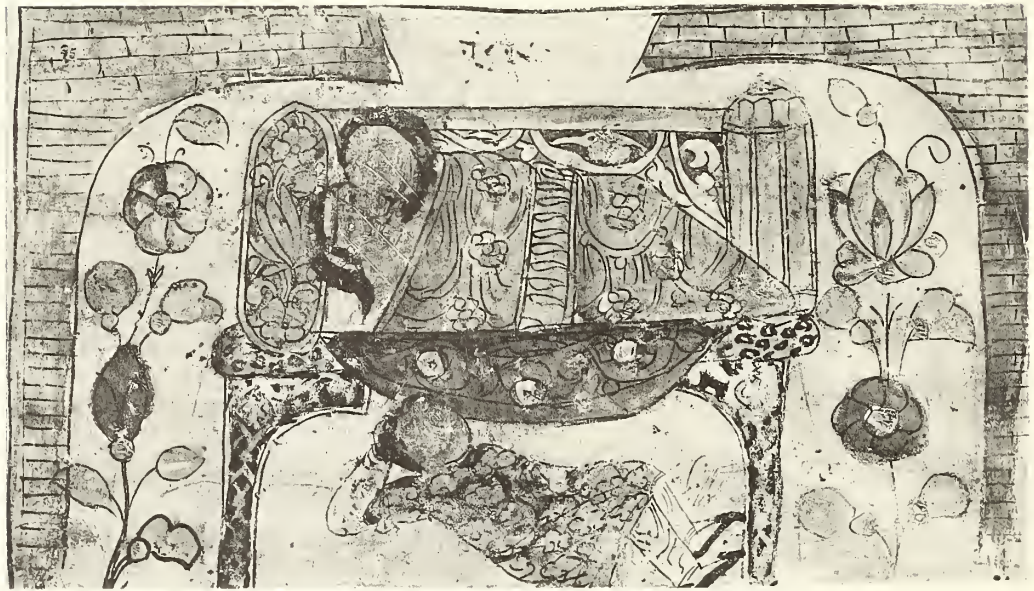


FIG. 3—MINIATURE FROM KALILAH AND DIMNAH, 733 H.  
COLLECTION OF SIR BERNARD ECKSTEIN, LONDON



FIG. 4—MINIATURE FROM A SHAH NAMAH WITH A DEDICATION OF 1353  
FORMERLY IN THE COLLECTION OF MRS. STEPHENS





FIG. 5—"ZĀL BEFORE MINŪČIHR," FROM A SHAH NAMAH, CA. 1330  
FORMERLY IN THE DEMOTTE COLLECTION



FIG. 6—MINIATURE FROM KALILAH AND DIMNAH, CA. 1330  
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ISTANBUL





FIG. 7—MINIATURES FROM KALILAH AND DIMNAH, CA. 1330  
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ISTANBUL



vivals from an earlier local school of which no examples survive, or as a sign of connection with Mesopotamia, both of which are in any case extremely probable. But the Bidpai illustrations of Shiraz show little connection with those of the Arabic manuscripts produced in Mesopotamia.

Tabriz is known to have been the center of a different school. Here the Mongol invasion brought a much stronger draught of new influences which blew away far more of the older tradition. Experiment was in the air; there was great interest in the representation of movement and of depth, of the structure of things as well as of their outline shape.

All this does not, of course, happen quite suddenly. In the *Bestiary* in the Morgan Library the process can be seen going on, for only about a dozen of the miniatures in this manuscript are contemporary with the text, which was written at Maragha between 1295 and 1300. The great majority form a consistent group which is probably to be placed not much more than twenty years later, if we may judge from other evidence which we have of the rapid development of the Tabriz school. It is among these that the closest parallels are to be found to the miniatures cut from a manuscript of *Kalilah and Dimnah* in Naṣr Allāh's version and mounted with complete disregard for appearance and even direction in an album now preserved in the University Library at Istanbul (our No. 6). Unfortunately, only a small proportion of the ninety-four miniatures of the Morgan *Bestiary* have been reproduced, and these are for the most part chosen from among the twelve examples of the first style. Martin,<sup>30</sup> however, reproduces four of the second group.

Elsewhere, I have pointed out certain features which occur in the Istanbul University Bidpai miniatures for the first time and which later on become the rule in the Timurid school. These were not stylistic peculiarities of painting but fashions of costume and representations of textile design. It is perhaps for this same reason that Kühnel in his historical account of the miniature schools in the *Survey of Persian Art* has placed these miniatures at the head of the school of Herat, actually attributing them to Khurasan. This seems to me to ignore the vital evidence of style in favor of what we may call incidental features. The dress and carpet designs to which I drew attention are not peculiar to this manuscript. I merely wish to place it securely in the fourteenth century instead of in the twelfth century as its first publisher, Saksian, wished (and still wishes). The zigzag carpet pattern to which I called attention occurs in the Demotte *Shah Namah* (Fig. 5) and in another *Shah Namah* manuscript in the Serai Library as well as in the University Library Bidpai.

Stchoukine has attempted to distinguish not only different hands but also different periods of production for the Demotte miniatures. Without going to the other extreme of assuming with Kühnel a single hand throughout, one may note that the variety of styles to be found in them corresponds perfectly to what would be expected of the cosmopolitan center of Tabriz during a period of rapid development and constant experiment.

<sup>30</sup> *Miniature Painters and Paintings of Persia, India and Turkey* (London, 1912), II, Pls. 24 and 25. [The publication of an extensive study of this manuscript and

its various masters by the late Dr. R. M. Riefstahl is in preparation. ED.]

The date now generally proposed is about 1330, and this would fall in with the attribution which I would now make of the Istanbul Bidpai to the same period. In a miniature from the Demotte *Shah Namah* now in the Fogg Art Museum, Bahram Gur wears the square embroidered design on the breast of his tunic which also occurs in the Bidpai (Fig. 6). It is unnecessary to reduplicate these points of detail: it is clear that these two manuscripts both represent the same period of active clash between the Mongol and Iranian styles, which sometimes fused into masterpieces.

There is something rather awkward and tentative about the Istanbul *Kalilah and Dimnah* miniatures which leads one to suppose that they are the first trials in a new style. This would not exclude them from also following in composition or general idea earlier illustrations, though these no longer survive. One striking feature of these miniatures is the way in which the drawing extends well into the margins of the book (Fig. 7).<sup>31</sup> To a much less extent this happens also in the London and Edinburgh *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* and in the Demotte *Shah Namah* in both of which lances extend into the margin. In only one other manuscript, however, is the feature so marked as in the Istanbul *Kalilah and Dimnah*. This is the *Divan* of Sultan Ahmed *Djalā'ir*, now in the Freer Gallery, Washington. It is notable that this also is a Tabriz manuscript, though it dates from quite the end of the fourteenth century.

In the library of the Nawab of Rampur is a manuscript of *Kalilah and Dimnah* (No. 7) which is clearly a direct copy from that now only surviving in the Istanbul fragments. It was published by Gangoly as of the mid-fourteenth century. Gangoly considered it to be slightly earlier than the Istanbul pages, because it is flatter and less realistic. This is true, but in fact there is no better sign of the progress marked in it toward the Timurid style. Of the six miniatures which Gangoly reproduces from it three repeat subjects to be found in the Istanbul album. They are remarkably faithful copies, but a comparison clearly shows the coming of a changed point of view. The realistic, if formalized representation of rocks and water of the earlier manuscript has given place to an equally formalized but descriptive shorthand, in which rocks have spongy, coral-like edges and water is marked by tiny surface swirls instead of rough waves. The development has gone so far that I would suggest (without having seen the manuscript) a date of about 1380-90 for it.

Up to this point our conclusions may be summarized as follows. Of the four manuscripts of *Kalilah and Dimnah* so far discussed two have been assigned to Shiraz and dated to 1333 and about 1330; and two to Tabriz and dated about 1330 and about 1380-90.

(To be continued)

<sup>31</sup> The Kufic heading probably belonged to the *Kalilah and Dimnah* manuscript; it is to be compared with

the heading for the Demotte *Shah Namah* in the Musée du Louvre. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. XLVII.



## AN INSCRIPTION OF BĀRBAK SHAH OF BENGAL\*

BY NABIH A. FARIS AND GEORGE C. MILES

IN 1924 THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM IN PHILADELPHIA ACQUIRED BY PURCHASE from Mr. H. Kevorkian, the art dealer, a magnificent Arabic inscription (*Fig. 1*). It has for several years been on exhibition in the Islamic hall of the museum. The inscription is carved in relief on nine slabs of irregular size fitting together to make a rectangular panel measuring eight feet, one inch, by two feet, eleven and one-half inches. The stone is black tuff, resembling basalt in appearance.<sup>1</sup> A border of an undulating foliate pattern interspersed with rosettes surrounds the inscription and is interrupted midway at the top by a cartouche containing the *basmala* in simple thuluth characters.

The inscription proper consists of two lines, each divided into sixteen vertical rectangular frames, the character being an exceptionally graceful and elaborate variety of tughra script. Instead of the customary unbroken repetition of elongated verticals so characteristic of the Indian tughra character, the letters in every other frame or panel are inscribed in open thuluth, contrasting with and varying the rhythm of the repeated verticals in the alternate frames. Furthermore, the alternation of compact and open script in the upper and lower lines is staggered—that is, the upper line commences with a panel of tughra character, and the lower line begins with one of open thuluth. The effect is most striking, and the inscription as a whole is a masterpiece of Islamic epigraphy, certainly the finest single piece of monumental Arabic calligraphy in this country. Its artistic merit as well as its historical value, which has been shrouded in considerable mystery, has persuaded the authors that this inscription deserves wider attention than it has hitherto received.

Two circumstances have contributed to the difficulty of decipherment and identification. In the first place, the text is Arabic verse, and Arabic verse is never easy. Secondly, the panels containing tughra character are for the most part exceedingly crowded and complex; several of them are very nearly undecipherable. In fact, one or two words still refuse to come forth. The difficulties of language and script have produced two quite extraordinary attempts at identification. The first was supplied with the inscription when it was acquired by the University Museum. To quote at random:

[A] memorial tablet . . . executed for a Mohammedan ruler about the early fifteenth century . . . The name of the ruler is given as Sultan Mahmoud, the Ruler of both Iracs including Yeman and Sham . . . The name of the King is mentioned as Aali, the son of Mahmoud Shah, who reigned as it says, over Syria, Palestine, and Egypt . . . It seems to be reasonably certain that this tablet is of Egyptian origin. It is of the same quality of stone as most of the sculptures, carvings, and sarcophagi of Ancient Egypt . . . Whether the Palace referred to stood in Egypt on the one hand, or

\*The substance of this article was presented at a session of the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, March 27, 1940.

<sup>1</sup> The authors are indebted to Messrs. Charles Bache and Joseph Berman, and to the Department of Geology of the University of Pennsylvania, for this identification.

in Sham or Yemen on the other, could not be definitely stated from the data that the inscription gives . . . .

This somewhat nebulous identification was subsequently altered by Mr. N. Martinovitch, who supplied the information for the label which now accompanies the inscription:

. . . . A Moslem prayer, beginning: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Praise be to God . . . ." etc. Thereupon a dedicating inscription explaining that this (mosque or sepulchre?) was built by Sultan Mahmud Shah, the Just, al-Hasan, in the reign of Jahan Shah Rukn ad-Dunya wa-d-din, ban Abu'l-Muzaffar, in the year 871=1466. Sultan Mahmud . . . of the Timurid dynasty, was in 1466 ruler of some provinces under the sovereign Jahan Shah, 1437-1467, of the Qarakuyunlu dynasty, king of Persia.

Of a third, and correct, identification, made many years ago, we shall speak shortly. But first let us dispel any illusions about a hypothetical Mameluke of Egypt, or a Timurid or Qarā-qōyūnlu ruler of Persia. The inscription commemorates the building by Bārbak Shah, second sovereign of the restored house of Iliyās Shah, who ruled over Bengal from 864-79 H. (1459-75 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> of a canal or reservoir and an inner gate to the grounds of the palace of Gaur, the old capital of Bengal. The text reads as follows:

### بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

- |                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ١ الحمد لله ذي الآلاء والمنن        | رب تنزه عن نوم وعن وسن         |
| ٢ ثم الصلوة على المختار من مضر      | خير الانام النبي السيد المدني  |
| ٣ محمد خاتم الرسل الكرام ومن        | لولا سبل الهدى والحق لم تبين   |
| ٤ وآله معدن التقوى وصحبته           | الطائعي لله في سر وفي علن      |
| ٥ وبعد اثني على جواد رحمة من        | ازرى بجود السحاب الهاتل الهتن  |
| ٦ الشاه سلطان ركن الدنيا والدين     | سلطاننا باربكشاه العلي الفطن   |
| ٧ ابن الذي شاع في الامصار بابه      | سلطان محمود شاه العادل الحسن   |
| ٨ هل في العراقيين سلطان له كرم      | كباربكشاه وفي الشام واليمن     |
| ٩ كلا وما في بلاد الله قط له        | في البذل مثل فهذا واحد الزمن   |
| ١٠ ودارة كالجنان رائق نزه           | وهجلب للغنى ومذهب للشجن        |
| ١١ نهر جرى تحتها كالسلسبيل له       | اجناء در قلت بالفقر والحن      |
| ١٢ وبابها راحة للروح ريحانا         | لذي الحبيب وللاعداء كالشطن     |
| ١٣ باب علي نشيط مشرح سمه [?]        | ميانه در وهي خاص دخول ابين [?] |
| ١٤ احدى وسبعون والثمانمئة سنا [sic] | مبناه دار العيش والآمال والكنن |
| ١٥ فالد اساله تخليد دولته           | ما غرد الطير في روض على القنن  |
| ١٦ در دور سلطنت شاه جهانپناه ركن    | ملكه وسلطان بناء ميانه در بسنة |
| الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر باربكشاه   | احدى وسبعون وثمانمئة . . . .   |
| سلطان خلد الله                      |                                |









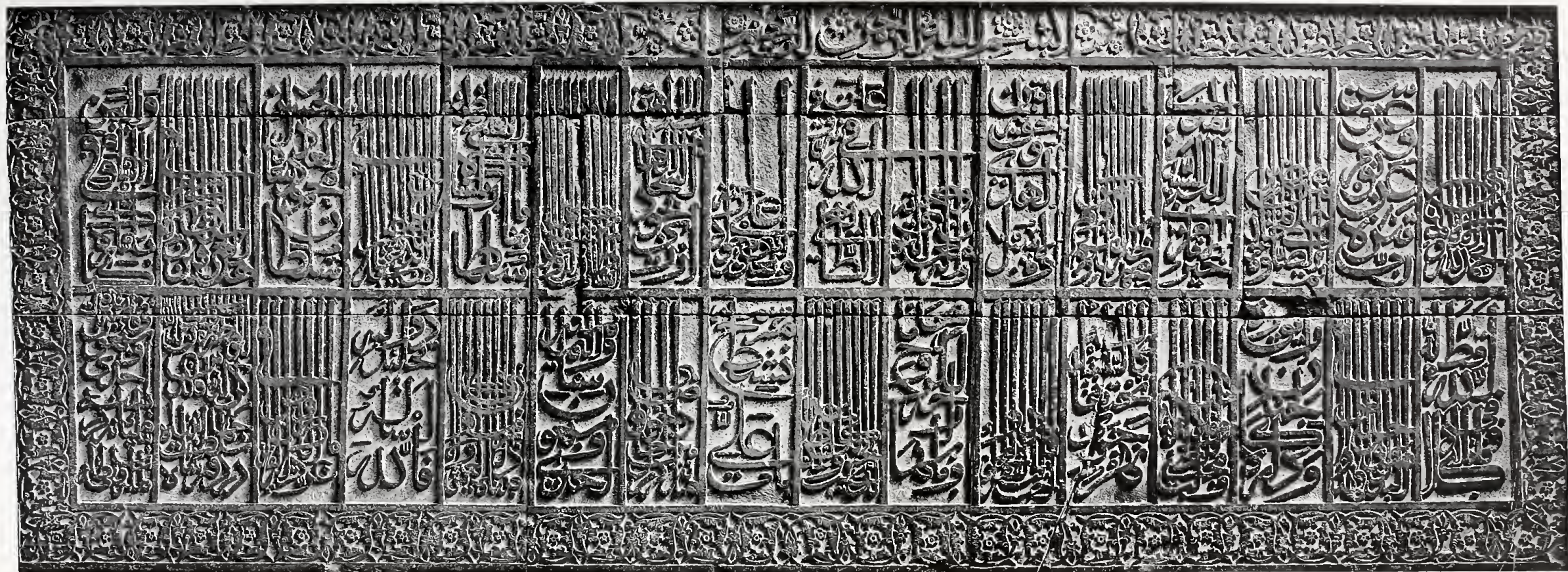


FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION OF BARBAK SHAH OF BENGAL, 871 H.  
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA







In fairly literal translation, the meaning is:

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.  
 Praise be to God, the source of munificence and grace,  
 A Lord who transcends slumber and sleep.  
 Then may the blessing of God be upon the elect of Muḍar,  
 The best of creation, the Medinese, the illustrious Prophet,  
 Muhammad, the seal of the noble prophets,  
 Without whom the paths of righteousness and truth would not have become known;  
 And upon his family, the fountainhead of piety, and upon his companions,  
 Who are obedient unto God in private and in public.  
 Then I sing the praise of one whose generosity  
 Surpasses the beneficence of clouds heavily laden with moisture,  
 The Shah, Sultan Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn,  
 Our Sultan Bārbak Shah, the sublime, the wise,  
 The son of him whose fame (?) has spread throughout the lands,  
 Sultan Mahmud Shah, the just, the fair.  
 Is there in the two Iraqs a sultan as generous  
 As Bārbak Shah, yea in Syria and in al-Yaman?  
 No! There is not unto him in all God's land  
 An equal in generosity, for he is unique, unparalleled in his time.  
 His abode is like unto a garden, tranquil and pleasing;  
 It gathers joy and dispels sorrow;  
 A watercourse flows beneath it, resembling the waters of Paradise,  
 With pearl-like ripples, which do away with poverty and pain.  
 Its gate provides refuge, like fragrant basil to the soul,  
 To friends, while to foes it is forbidden and remote;  
 A "sublime gate," refreshing and cheerful, called  
 The Middle Gate (*Miyāna Dar*), set apart as a special entrance,  
 In the year eight hundred and seventy-one—  
 An abode of life and hope and rest.  
 I therefore ask God to perpetuate his dominion  
 As long as birds on treetops alight and sing.  
 In the era of the sultanate of the shah, the refuge of the universe,  
 Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, abu'l-Muẓaffar Bārbak Shah Sultan, may God prolong  
 His power and dominion. Building of the Middle Gate in the year eight hundred and seventy-one  
 [1466–67 A.D.] . . . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie* . . . (Hannover, 1927), p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> The meter is the so-called *baṣīṭ*. But the scheme is not observed throughout. Thus verse 6, hemistich 1, verse 10, verse 12, hemistich 1, verse 13, hemistich 2, verse 14, hemistich 1, and verse 16 are faulty, or "broken." In verse 13 are two doubtful words: *سنة*

which may have been intended for *أسية* and *أبين*, for which no satisfactory explanation can be offered. In verse 14 *سنا* appears instead of *سنة*. The last word in the inscription defied all attempts of decipherment. It seems almost certain that the writer was a non-Arab.

The identification of Bārbak Shah quite naturally leads us to Gaur. Called Lakshmanavati or Lakhnauti when Bengal was ruled by Hindu kings, Gaur was alternately with Pandua and other cities the capital of Bengal under the Moslem sultans. It is situated at 24° 54' N. latitude and 88° 8' E. longitude in Malda district, on a deserted channel of the Ganges,<sup>4</sup> and, because of its extensive ruins of stone and brick, has for centuries served as a quarry for later builders, who have carried off vast quantities of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century materials for use in erecting new buildings. These depredations, the desertion of the site in the seventeenth century, decay, and the relentless encroachment of the jungle have brought a once magnificent city to a pathetic state of ruin. Early in the nineteenth century Mr. Henry Creighton, superintendent of an indigo factory at nearby Gomalti, wrote of the remains:

In passing through so large an extent of former grandeur, once the busy scene of men, nothing presents itself but these few remains. Trees and high grass now fill up the space, and shelter a variety of wild creatures, bears, buffaloes, deer, wild hogs, snakes, monkeys, peacocks, and the common domestic fowl, rendered wild for want of an owner. At night the roar of the tiger, the cry of the peacock, and the howl of the jackals, with the accompaniment of rats, owls, and troublesome insects, soon become familiar to the few inhabitants still in its neighbourhood.<sup>5</sup>

Among these and similar ruins throughout this section of Bengal, amateur English archaeologists began to wander and record as early as the eighteenth century, and here and there in the early European literature there are references to inscriptions, most of them, unfortunately, *deraciné*.<sup>6</sup> It was no great surprise, then, to find that our inscription had received early notice; and the text which accompanied this notice is the third (more accurately, the first) attempt at decipherment of which we have made mention above. In a posthumous work entitled *Gaur: Its Ruins and Inscriptions* . . . published in 1878<sup>7</sup> there is a passage describing the ruins within the citadel of Gaur, and a footnote quoting a certain Major W. Francklin, whose manuscript "Journal of a Route from Rājemeḥāl to Gour, A.D. 1810" was at that time in the Survey Department of the India Office. Major Francklin wrote:

The palace is entirely in ruins . . . . At its western entrance formerly stood the famous Chand Darwazah . . . . It is now verging daily to decay, though its remains are even still magnificent . . . . The following inscription in Arabic was found at Goamalti. It is cut in the Toghra character of the largest dimensions upon a black stone, the original of which is now in my possession . . . .

Hereupon follows a text and translation supplied by A. Grote, one of the vice-presidents of the Royal Asiatic Society; and this text, correct insofar as the date and the identification of the

<sup>4</sup> *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, 1908), XII, 186-91. Cf. *A List of the Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Lower Provinces of Bengal: Compiled at the Bengal Secretariat Under the Orders of the Government of India* (Calcutta, 1879), pp. 180 ff.

<sup>5</sup> H. Creighton, *The Ruins of Gour* . . . (London, 1817), pp. 4-5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in Bihar and*

*Bengal in 1879-80 from Patna to Sunargaon*, *Archaeol. Surv. India*, XV (1882), 49. The chronology of the architectural remains of Gaur is rendered difficult by the fact that very few inscriptions remained *in situ* even early in the nineteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> J. H. Ravenshaw, *Gaur: Its Ruins and Inscriptions* (London, 1878), pp. 18-19.



ruler are concerned, but incorrect in a number of other particulars, is the text of the University Museum stone which is the subject of this paper.

Thus, in 1810 the tablet had already been removed from the building to which it belonged and had started off on a long journey. Just how it reached England we do not know, but according to information solicited from Mr. Kevorkian, it had been for many years at the Deepdene, near Dorking, Surrey, the country estate of the descendants of Thomas Hope, who acquired the place in 1806. Thomas Hope was best known as a collector of Greek and Roman vases and sculpture, and it was at the Deepdene that he housed his art collections. In his youth he spent several years studying architecture in the Near East, and it is probably safe to assume that it was he who purchased the inscription under discussion.<sup>8</sup> At all events, it was acquired by Mr. Kevorkian in 1917 (the Hope collections of sculpture and vases were auctioned at Christie's in that year), and in 1924, as stated above, it passed to the University Museum.

Happily, the text of the inscription offers some clue to the type of structure which it originally adorned: the principal element was a *Miyāna Dar*, or "middle gate." Plans of the ruins of Gaur show rather clearly where this middle gate must have stood. The fortress or citadel (*Fig. 2*), which was nearly a mile long, contained the palace, the fine *Ḳadam Rasūl* (*Qadam Rasūl*) mosque, and a number of other buildings. The main entrance through the massive outer walls was on the north, the *Dākhil* (*Dākhil*) Gate; and within the grounds Creighton's map (drawn in 1801) and Ravenshaw's copied plan show two other ceremonial gateways on a direct line between the *Dākhil* Gate and the ruined palace walls. The first of these is called the *Čānd* (*Chánd*) Gate (Franklin to the contrary notwithstanding), and the second the *Nīm* Gate. This latter, we submit, was Bārbak Shah's *Miyāna Dar*, to which the inscription refers and belongs.<sup>9</sup> The plans also show a number of tanks or reservoirs, and reference to one of these may well be intended in the line: *نهر جری تحتها کالسلسبیل له*.

It remains to make a few remarks about Bārbak Shah himself and to mention a few other inscriptions bearing his name. Bengal was conquered about 1197, in the lifetime of Muhammad Ghōri, by one of his generals, Muhammad Bakhtiyār *Khildjī*; for more than a century the state was ruled by governors sent out from Delhi, but the distance from the capital and the ambitions of viceroys led inevitably to independence, and from 1338 till the middle of the sixteenth century, when Bengal became a part of the Mughal empire, a series of wholly independent sovereigns of different houses ruled over the land. The house of Iliyās, replaced for thirty-odd years by that of Raja Ganesh, was restored in 846 H. (1442 A.D.) by Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmud, whose son was Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shah. Bārbak came to the throne in 864 H. (1459

<sup>8</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York, 1891), XXVII, 327-29; E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 1-3.

<sup>9</sup> Cunningham (*op. cit.*, pp. 52-53) reproduced in part the translation appearing in Ravenshaw's book. He pointed out that Creighton (*op. cit.*, text of Pl. III) must

have been mistaken in attributing "Arabic inscriptions found near the spot," dated 871 H. (in all probability our tablet) to the Čānd Gate. Cunningham also deduces, doubtless correctly, that the *Dākhil* Gate was built by Mahmud, not by Bārbak Shah as supposed by Creighton (*op. cit.*, text of Pl. II).

A.D.) and died in 879 H. (1475 A.D.). Not much seems to be known about him except that he introduced into the kingdom and advanced to high position a large number of Abyssinian slaves.<sup>10</sup>

Seven of his inscriptions, all recording the building of mosques, have been recorded in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. One came from Gaur,<sup>11</sup> but is dissociated from its building; four from the region of Dīnādjpūr,<sup>12</sup> one from Tribeni, near Hūglī,<sup>13</sup> and one from a site near "Mirzagunge" in the 24-Parganahs.<sup>14</sup> The dates range from 865 to 876 H. Bārbak's customary protocol is:

السلطان ابن السلطان ركن الدنيا والدين ابو الجهاد باربكشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان

but in two instances we have the *kunya* ابو المظفر as in the *Miyāna Dar* inscription, and the protocol is sometimes amplified by the epithets: (الملك العادل البازل الفاضل العالم الكامل). An epigraphical peculiarity, the detached and superimposed *kāf*, which we observe in the twelfth, sixteenth, and twenty-eighth panels of the present inscription, is common to other inscriptions of Bārbak as well as to those of his father, brother, and son, as one may see in the *kāfs* in Figure 4, an inscription of Bārbak's from the village of Deotalāo, in the Dīnādjpūr district, dated 868.<sup>15</sup> Similar *kāfs* are present in an inscription of Bārbak's brother Faṭḥ Shah, dated 889 H.<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 3); in an inscription of Yūsuf Shah, Bārbak's son, from Panduah, dated 884<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 5); and in another remarkable inscription of the same ruler, from Gaur, dated 885<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 6). These inscriptions are characteristic examples of the variety of ingenuity displayed in the use of the tughra character in this period.

Bārbak's coins, which are of miserable execution and design, and contrast strangely with the high artistic standard of the monumental epigraphy of the time, in general carry the same protocol as the inscriptions, the *kunya* again usually being ابو الجهاد, but sometimes ابو المظفر. السلطان is occasionally amplified by المعظم or الاعظم.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>10</sup> "Bengal," *Encyclopaedia of Islām*; and *The Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge, 1928), III, 267-68. Cf. C. Stewart, *The History of Bengal* . . . (London, 1813), pp. 100-101.

<sup>11</sup> H. Blochmann, "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period), No. II," *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, XLIII (1874), 295-96, date 865.

<sup>12</sup> H. Blochmann, "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period)," *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, XLII (1873), 272, date 865; *idem*, "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period), No. II," p. 296, date 868; *idem*, "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period), No. III," *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, XLIV (1875), 290-91, date 865 and date 876.

<sup>13</sup> H. Blochmann, "Notes on the Arabic and Persian

Inscriptions in the Hūglī District," *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, XXXIX (1870), 290, date incorrectly read; should be 86X(?).

<sup>14</sup> "Proceedings of the Society for September, 1860, Communications by J. H. Reily and W. N. Lees," *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, XXIX (1860), 406-8, date 870(?).

<sup>15</sup> Blochmann, "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period), No. II," p. 296.

<sup>16</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII (wrongly labeled "Yūsuf Shāh").

<sup>17</sup> Blochmann, "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period)," p. 276.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>19</sup> H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* (Oxford, 1907), II, 167-68, and Pl. IV.





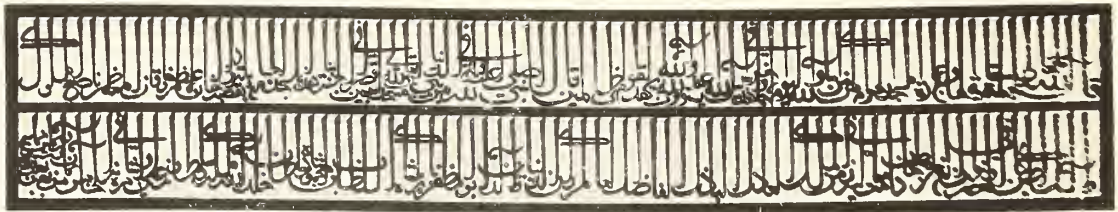
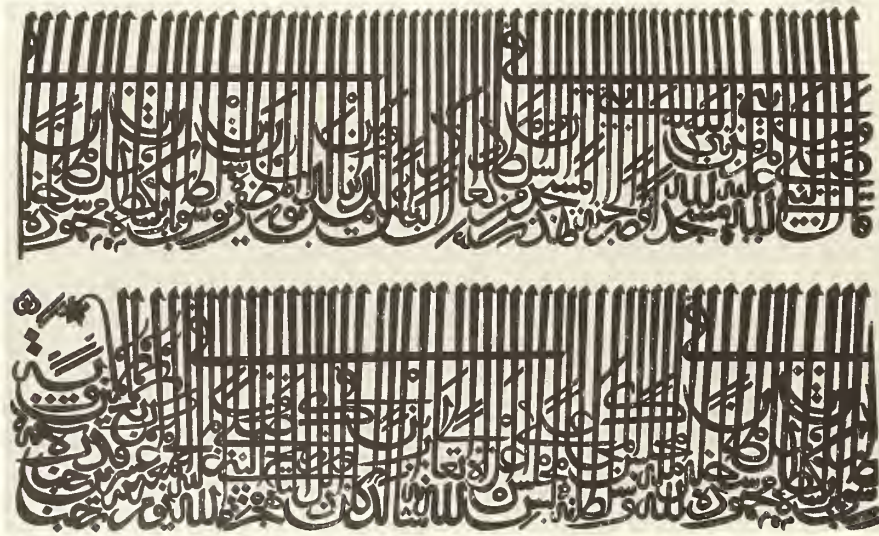
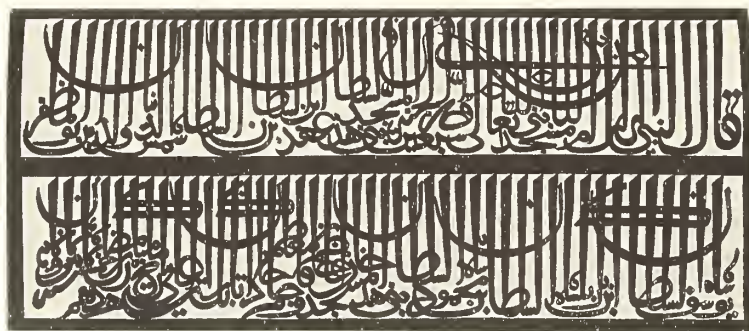


FIG. 4—INSCRIPTION OF BĀRBAK SHAH, DĪNĀDĪPŪR DISTRICT, 868 H.



FROM RAVENSHAW

FIG. 5—INSCRIPTION OF YŪSUF SHAH, PANDUAH, 884 H.



FROM RAVENSHAW

FIG. 6—INSCRIPTION OF YŪSUF SHAH, GAUR, 885 H.



SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO K. HOLTER'S CHECK LIST OF ISLAMIC  
ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS BEFORE A.D. 1350  
BY HUGO BUCHTHAL, OTTO KURZ, AND RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

THE STUDY OF ISLAMIC ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS IS HAMPERED BY THE DIFFICULTY OF surveying the available material and of noting publications. Not only are Islamic manuscripts scarcely ever published completely, but reproductions are scattered through a large number of handbooks, periodicals, and exhibition catalogues. The difficulty is increased by the fact that many manuscripts have been broken up in order to sell the single illuminations at a larger profit. It is hard to trace these leaves, and their provenance is easily forgotten. Therefore, every scholar should be grateful for a hand list of Islamic illustrated manuscripts.

Such a list, comprising the earlier period of Islamic book illustration, was published by K. Holter.<sup>1</sup> Though it is most useful as a first step, this list is rather incomplete.

The following additions attempt to supplement it at random by a number of references and several manuscripts. Moreover, we have endeavored to bring the list up to date by incorporating the copious literature which has appeared since it was published. Holter's list combined with this supplement may prove a help to students in the field of Islamic art.

Even so, a word of caution must be given, because this bibliography intends only to supplement the references of Holter's list. It does not try to improve the arrangements in groups and schools suggested by Holter; nor does it add more than occasional bits of information on the whereabouts of detached miniatures from dismembered manuscripts and about the dates of manuscripts. This applies especially to the many miniatures from dispersed fourteenth-century *Shah Namah* manuscripts that fall easily into various main groups, but that are very difficult to trace back to individual manuscripts. Under the present circumstances it has seemed impossible to clarify this particular problem and the others referred to, and rather than to wait for the completion of further studies the compilers thought it best to supply the extensive newly found bibliographical material, even if in some instances it should have to be attached to different manuscripts later on.

Items dealing with Syriac and Christian Arabic manuscripts are somewhat scanty in Holter's catalogue. We have refrained from any attempt to complete his list in this respect, for the first two compilers of these "Supplementary Notes" are preparing a hand list of East Christian manuscripts which will be published as one of the *Studies of the Warburg Institute*.

<sup>1</sup> "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350,"  
*Zentralb. f. Bibliothekswesen*, LIV (1937), 1-34. Also

published in a special reprint (Leipzig, 1937).

## ADDITIONS

## I. PRE-MONGOL MANUSCRIPTS

## A. AL-ŞŪFĪ, KITĀB ŞUWAR AL-KAWĀKIB

7. London, British Museum, or. 5323.  
 L. Binyon. *Asiatic Art in the British Museum* (Ars Asiatica, VI). Paris and Brussels, 1925. Pp. 55-56, Pl. XLIV, 2 (the same page and plate references in the French edition, *L'Art asiatique au British Museum*).  
 Guide to an Exhibition of Persian Art, in the Prints and Drawings Gallery, British Museum. London, 1931. Pp. 11-12, 14, No. 6.  
 F. Sarre. Eine seltene Lüsterschale der Rayy-Keramik. *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), 193, Fig. 3.  
 H. Buchthal. "Hellenistic" Miniatures in Early Islamic Manuscripts. *Ars Islamica*, VII (1940), 127, Fig. 21.  
 9c. Paris, Bibl. Nat. arabe 5036.  
 C. Brockelmann. *Der Islām von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Weltgeschichte, ed. J. von Pfluck-Hartung. Berlin, 1910. Vol. I, fig. on p. 195.  
 E. Panofsky and F. Saxl. *Classical Mythology in Medieval Art*. Metropolitan Mus. Studies, IV (1933), Figs. 21 A and 24 A.  
 x. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Universitaire, No. 4300.  
 Eighteenth century; from India.  
 E. Wickersheimer. Strasbourg, Catalogue général des mss. des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements. Paris, 1923. XLVII, 761.  
 y. London, A. Chester Beatty. Arabic. Mid-sixteenth century.  
 Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts . . . in the Collection of A. Chester Beatty, Exhibited March, 1939. London, 1939. No. 54.

## B. AUTOMATA MANUSCRIPTS

10. Istanbul, Top Kapi Saray 3472.  
 I. Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. Bruges, 1936. P. 77.  
 11. Cairo, Bibliothèque égypt. 487 Riyāḍa.  
 Holter's doubts proved to be justified. Cairo 487 is not an original manuscript, but a photographic copy of Istanbul, Top Kapi Saray 3472.  
 12. New York, Collection H. Kevorkian.  
 To the list of owners add: Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; D. K. Kelekian, New York.  
 J. L. Davidson. *Persian Art at the Brooklyn Museum*. Parnassus, VII (1935), No. 4, 18-19, fig. on p. 18, attributed No. 13 (Holter's list), but probably belongs to No. 12.  
 Catalogue, Exhibition of Islamic Art, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum. San Francisco, 1937. Nos. 16-17.  
 13. Istanbul, Aya Sofya No. 3606, and various collections.  
 To the list of owners add: K. Minasian, New York; H. Kevorkian, New York.  
 E. Herzfeld. *Der Thron des Khosrō*. Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., XLI (1920), 141, Fig. 36.  
 A. Coomaraswamy. *Early Arabic and Persian Paintings*. Boston, Mus. Fine Arts Bull., XXI (1923), No. 126, 49-50, 2 figs.



Recent publications: *An Arabic Treatise on Automata*. Boston Mus. of Fine Arts Bull., XXII (1924), No. 131, 25, 1 fig.

K. A. C. Creswell. Dr. F. R. Martin's M.S. "Treatise on Automata." Year Book of Oriental Art and Culture, I (1924-25), 33-40, Pl. 23.

Collection Jacques Doucet, Vente, Galerie G. Petit, Paris, 27 nov. 1930. No. 100, Pl. 31.

H. G. Farmer. *Mus. The Legacy of Islam*. Ed. by T. Arnold and A. Guillaume. Oxford, 1931. Fig. 91.

R. Grousset. *The Near and Middle East. The Civilizations of the East*. New York, 1931. P. 247, Fig. 178.

M. S. Dimand. *A Guide to an Exhibition of Islamic Miniature Painting and Book Illumination*. New York: Metropolitan Mus., 1933-34. Fig. 5.

J. L. Davidson. *Persian Art at the Brooklyn Museum*. P. 19.

*Handbook*. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 3rd ed.; Cambridge, 1936. P. 209, 1 fig.

Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. Pp. 99-100.

*Catalogue, Exhibition of Islamic Art*, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum. No. 18.

*Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts*.

24th ed.; Boston, 1937. P. 126, 1 fig.

H. Corbin and others, eds. *Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad*. Paris, 1938. P. 130, No. 12.

M. Meyerhof. *Le Monde islamique*. Paris [n.d.]. (Bibliothèque général illustrée 3). Pl. 51.

b. Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 2477.

E. Blochet. *Notices sur les manuscrits persans et arabes de la collection Marteau. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibl. Nat.*, XLI (1923), 300 n.

c. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Graves 27.

Coomaraswamy. *Early Arabic and Persian Paintings*. P. 49.

Creswell. Dr. F. R. Martin's M.S. "Treatise on Automata." Pl. 24 A.

B. Gray. *Persian Painting*. London, 1930. Pl. 1.

W. Born. *Early European Automata*. *The Connoisseur*, C (1937), 127, Fig. 8; 247 ff., Figs. 2, 4, 8, 9.

d. Leiden, University Library No. 1026.

Creswell. Dr. F. R. Martin's M.S. "Treatise on Automata." Pl. 25A.

f. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Fraser 186. Dated 1084 H. (1673-74 A.D.).

Creswell. Dr. F. R. Martin's M.S. "Treatise on Automata." Pl. 25B.

#### C. MISCELLANEOUS MANUSCRIPTS TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY

14. Note 1. Dioscorides. Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 4947.

E. Bonnet. *Étude sur les figures de plantes et d'animaux peintes dans une version arabe de Dioscoride*. Janus, 1909, pp. 1-10.

15. *Manāfi' al-Aḥjār*. Formerly Collection of J. Gazdar, Bombay, India. Indian and Persian Works of Art from

the Collection of J. Gazdar, Bombay, India. Amer. Art Assn., Anderson Galleries, Inc., March 25, 1933. Pp. 32-34, No. 94, 3 figs.

16. Al-Rāzī, Mufīd al-Khāṣṣ. Meshed.

E. Kühnel. *History of Miniature Painting and Drawing. A Survey of Persian Art*. Ed. by A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman. New York and London,

1938. III, 1831; V, Pl. 814.
18. Ḥarīrī, Maḵāmāt. Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 3929. (Suppl. 1918, "Ḥarīrī St. Waast").
- A. Sakisian. La Miniature persane. Paris, 1929. Figs. 19, 20.
- Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. Pp. 75-77.
- Corbin. Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad. Pp. 118 ff., No. 3, Pls. VIIIb, Xb, XIa.
- M. David. L'Art iranienne à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Beaux arts, nouvelle sér., LXXV (17 Juin 1938), No. 285, 1-2, 11, 3 figs.
- E. de Lorey. Peinture musulmane ou peinture iranienne. Revue des arts asiatiques, XII (1938), Figs. 6, 11-13.
- G. de Jerphanion. L'Influence de la miniature musulmane sur un évangélique syriaque illustré du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Vat. Syr. 559). Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus, 1939. Paris, 1939. P. 498, Fig. 5.
- G. de Jerphanion. Un nouveau manuscrit syriaque illustré de la Bibl. Vaticane. Orientalia Christiana Periodica, V (1939), Pl. C 1.
- E. Kühnel. Die bagdader Malerschule auf der Ausstellung iranischer Kunst in Paris 1939. Pantheon, XXIII (1939), 203-7, 1 fig.

#### D. MISCELLANEOUS MANUSCRIPTS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

19. Bidpai, Fables. Persian Version; various owners.
- To the owners add: Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.; Sir Bernard Eckstein, London; and Alphonse Kann, St-Germain-en-Laye; manuscript with colophon dating the miniatures 1333 A.D. (Dhu'l-Ḳa'da 733 H.) at Densmore-Vignier, Paris.
- R. M. Riefstahl. An Exhibition of Persian and Indian Miniature Paintings from the Collections of Demotte, Inc. New York, 1934. Pp. 13-14, No. 5.
- P. B. Cott. Recent Accessions of Near Eastern Miniature Paintings. Worcester Art Mus. Ann., I (1935-36), 32, 41, Fig. 1.
- Kühnel. History of Miniature Painting and Drawing. III, 1831; V, Pl. 815B.
- Corbin. Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad. Pp. 141-42, No. 22, 1-8, Pl. XIV, 3.
- B. Gray. Fourteenth-Century Illustrations of the Kalilah and Dimnah. Ars Islamica, VII (1940), 135-38, Figs. 1-3.
20. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Sīwāsī, Magical Treatise. Paris, Bibl. Nat., pers. 899.
- E. Blochet. Études sur le gnosticisme musulman. Rivista degli studi orientali, II (1908-9), 719 ff.; Pl. 4.
- W. Hartner. The Pseudoplanetary Nodes of the Moon's Orbit in Hindu and Islamic Iconographies. Ars Islamica, V (1938), 143, Fig. 22.

#### E. MESOPOTAMIAN AND SYRIAN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY (BAGHDAD SCHOOL)

24. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. al-Aḥnāf, Kitāb al-Baiṭara. Cairo, Bibl. Egypt. No. 8, f. Khalīl Aghā.
- R. Froehner. Die Pferdeheilkunde des Ahmad ibn al-Ahnaf. Hauptner-Instrumente, Neuheiten - Katalog.



- Berlin, 1936. 13 figs.  
 Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. Pp. 65-66.
25. Ḥarīrī. *Maḳāmāt*. Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 6094.  
 Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. Pp. 67-69.  
 Corbin. *Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad*. Pp. 110-12, No. 1, Pls. IX B, X A.  
 E. de Lorey. *Le Miroir de Bagdad. L'Illustration*, XCVI (Noël, 1938), No. 4996. First illus. (erroneously attributed to No. 31).  
 De Lorey. *Peinture musulmane ou peinture iranienne*. Fig. 3.  
 Kühnel. *Die bagdader Malerschule*. Pp. 203-7. 2 figs.  
 Buchthal. "Hellenistic" Miniatures in Early Islamic Manuscripts. Pp. 125-33, Figs. 1-3, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22, 29, 32, 37, 40, 43.
26. Bidpai, *Fables*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 3465.  
 Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. Pp. 69-71.  
 Corbin. *Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad*. Pp. 120 ff., No. 4, Pl. VIIb.  
 Bidpai, *Forefather of Fables*. Verve, I (1938), No. 3, 25-28, 9 figs.  
 David. *L'Art iranien à la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Pp. 2, 11, 1 fig.  
 De Lorey. *Le Miroir de Bagdad*. 3 figs.  
 De Lorey. *Peinture musulmane ou peinture iranienne*. Fig. 4.  
 D. T. Rice. *The Paris Exhibition of Iranian Art, 1938*. *Ars Islamica*, V (1938), 290, Fig. 9.  
 Kühnel. *Die bagdader Malerschule*. Pp. 203-7, 1 fig.  
 Buchthal. "Hellenistic" Miniatures in Early Islamic Manuscripts. Pp. 128-33, Figs. 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33-36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46.
27. Dioscorides. *Top Kapi Saray* 2148; various collections.  
 To the list of owners add: Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; Museum of Fine Arts, Kiev; Mrs. J. D. Rockefeller; Mrs. C. F. Burnett, Alpine, New Jersey; K. Minassian, New York.  
 G. Migeon. *Exposition des Arts musulmans à Munich*. *Les Arts*, No. 108 (1910), fig. on p. 2.  
 H. Glück and E. Diez. *Die Kunst des Islam*. 2. Aufl.; Berlin, 1925. Fig. 514, Pl. 36.  
 V. A. Krachkovskaya. *Musulmanskoe iskusstvo v sobranii Khanenko*. *Zapiski Kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom Muzee Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R.*, II (1926), 27-30, Pl. 1.  
 S. J. Gasiowski. *Malarstwo minjaturowe grecko-rzymskie*. Cracow, 1928. Pl. 71.  
 M. Wiasmitina. *L'Art des pays de l'Islam*. *Musée des Arts de l'Académie des Sciences d'Ukraine*, 1930, p. 90, Pl. 15.  
 M. Guérin. *Les Legs de R. Koechlin aux musées de France*. *Bull. des musées de France*, IV (1932), 78, 1 fig.  
 Sammlung F. u. M. Sarre. *Katalog der Ausstellung im Städelchen Kunstinstitut*. Frankfurt am Main, 1932. P. 39, No. 303, Pl. V.  
 H. H. Schaeder. *Ausbreitung und Staatengründungen des Islam vom 7.-15. Jahrhundert*. *Das Mittelalter bis zum Ausgang der Staufer*, 400-1250. *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte*, III, Berlin, 1932. Fig. on p. 244.  
 H. Buchthal. *Early Islamic Miniatures from Bagdhād*. *Journ. Walters Art Gallery*. In press.

- I. Stchoukine. *Les Miniatures persanes*. Musée National du Louvre. Paris, 1932. P. 29, Pl. 1.
- R. M. Riefstahl. *Catalogue of Persian and Indian Miniature Paintings Forming the Private Collection of D. K. Kelekian*. Detroit, 1934. Nos. 1-2, 1 fig.
- Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. Pp. 66-67.
- Catalogue, Exhibition of Islamic Art*, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum. Nos. 19-22, No. 19 illus.
- Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts*. Boston. P. 124, 1 fig.
- E. Schroeder. *The Persian Exhibition and the Bihzad Problem*. *Bull. Fogg Mus. Art*, VII (1937), 14, 1 fig.
- Corbin. *Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad*. Pp. 128-29, No. 10.
- Sonderausstellung, islamische Buchkunst aus Privatbesitz, Staatliche Museen in Berlin, Islamische Abteilung*. Berlin, 1938. Pp. 3-4.
- The V. Everit Macy Collection, Sale Catalogue*. American Art Assn., Anderson Galleries, Inc., January 6, 1938. P. 98, Nos. 434-35, 1 fig.
- Meyerhof. *Le Monde islamique*. Pl. 50.
- Rare Examples of Islamic Art in the Minassian Collection*. *Art News*, Dec. 3, 1939, p. 16, 1 fig.
- G. Salles. *Les Arts musulmans. Histoire universelle des arts des temps primitifs jusqu'à nos jours*. Ed. by Louis Réau. Paris, 1939. P. 51, Fig. 40.
30. Dioscorides. *Materia Medica*. Paris, Collection Vignier.
- To the list of owners add: E. de Lorey, Paris; R. Ettinghausen, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Catalogue, Exhibition of Islamic Art*, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum. Nos. 23-25, No. 23 illus.
31. Ḥarirī. *Maḳāmāt*. Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 5847 ("Ḥarirī Schefer").
- Brockelmann. *Der Islām von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Vol. I, figs. on pp. 151, 157, 191, 197, 207, 209, 211, and color-plate opp. p. 192.
- T. Mann. *Der Islam einst und jetzt*. Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1914 (*Monographien zur Weltgeschichte*, Vol. 32). Figs. 59, 60.
- G. Migeon. *Les Arts musulmans*. Paris et Bruxelles, 1926. Pl. 29a.
- Sakisian. *La Miniature persane*. Fig. 18.
- T. W. Arnold. *The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art*. London, 1932. Pl. II, 2b.
- Schaeder. *Ausbreitung und Staaten Gründungen des Islam vom 7.-15. Jahrhundert*. Fig. on p. 223.
- L. Bronstein. *Space Forms in Persian Miniature Composition*. *Bull. Amer. Instit. Persian Art and Archaeol.*, IV (1935), 21, Fig. 4.
- Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. Pp. 71-74.
- Corbin. *Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad*. Pp. 112 ff., No. 2, Pls. VIIa, VIIIa, IXa, XIb, XIIa.
- The Assemblies of al-Hariri*. *Verve*, I (1938), No. 3, 17-24, 10 figs.
- N. P. Britton. *A Study of Early Islamic Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston. Boston, 1938. Fig. 100.
- David. *L'Art iranien à la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Pp. 1-2, 11, 5 figs.
- De Lorey. *Le Miroir de Bagdad*. 5 figs. (The first illustration is erroneously attributed to the same MS, but is actually from arabe 6094.)



- De Lorey. *Peinture musulmane ou peinture iranienne*. Figs. 1, 2, 5.
- J. Pijoan. *An Outline History of Art, Middle Ages in Europe, Islam, Far East, American Indian*. Chicago, 1938. Fig. on p. 313.
- Rice. *The Paris Exhibition of Iranian Art, 1938*. Pp. 289-90, Figs. 6-8.
- Jerphanion. *L'Influence de la miniature musulmane sur un évangélaire syriaque illustré du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Vat. Syr. 559)*. Pp. 496-97, Fig. 4.
- Jerphanion. *Un nouveau manuscrit syriaque illustré de la Bibl. Vaticane*. Pl. C 2.
- H. Buchthal. *The Pictorial Art of the Syrian Jacobites in Its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Painting. Syria, XX (1939), 136-50, Pls. XXII, 2, and XXIII, 2.*
- Kühnel. *Die bagdader Malerschule*. Pp. 203-7, 2 figs.
- W. R. Valentiner. *The Front Plane Relief in Medieval Art. Art Quarterly, II (1939), 162, Fig. 7.*
- G. Wiet. *L'Égypte arabe. Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, G. Hanotaux, ed. Paris [n.d.]. IV, fig. on p. 166.
- B. Gray. *Persian Painting from Miniatures of the XIII.-XVI. Centuries*. New York, Toronto. 1940. Pp. 8, 11, Pl. 1.
32. Ḥarīrī. *Maḳāmāt*. Leningrad, Academy of Sciences.
- W. Stasoff. *L'Ornement slave et oriental*. St. Petersburg, 1887. Pl. 155, No. 6.
- Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. P. 74.
- A. Borisov. *Miniatyurui "Knigi Makam" al-Khariri. Gosudarstvennuy Ermitazh, Pamyatniki epokhi Rustaveli*. Leningrad, 1938. Pp. 171-78, Pls. 6-8.
33. Na't al-Ḥayawān. London, British Museum, or. 2784.  
(Misprint: Rieu catalogue No. 778, not 718, also incorrect title.)
- Binyon. *Asiatic Art in the British Museum*, P. 56, Pl. XLIV, 3 (the same page and plate references in the French edition).
- Guide to an Exhibition of Persian Art, in the Prints and Drawings Gallery, British Museum, London, 1931*. Pp. 11, 14, No. 3.
- Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. P. 78.
34. Ḥarīrī. *Maḳāmāt*. London, British Museum, or. 1200.  
*Guide to an Exhibition of Persian Art, in the Prints and Drawings Gallery, British Museum*. Pp. 11, 14, No. 1.
- Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. Pp. 77-78.
35. Ḥarīrī. *Maḳāmāt*. London, British Museum, Add. 22,114.  
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- Buchthal. *The Pictorial Art of the Syrian Jacobites in Its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Painting*. Pl. XXIV, 1.

F. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY IN NORTHERN  
MESOPOTAMIA (MOSUL SCHOOL) AND IN WESTERN PERSIA

- 36B. Abu'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. Cairo, Bibl. Egypt., No. 579. Adab.
- K. Holter. *Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Hariri der Wiener Nationalbibliothek*. *Jahrb. d. kunst-historischen Samml. in Wien*, N.F.,

- XI (1937), Pl. VI.
37. Pseudo-Galen. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, A.F. 10.  
Gasiorowski. Malarstwo minjaturowe grecko-rzymskie. Fig. 70.  
M. Meyerhof. Joannes Grammatikos (Philoponos) von Alexandrien und die arabische Medizin. Mitteil d. deutschen Instituts f. ägypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo, II (1932), 16-21.  
Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. Pp. 95-96.  
K. Holter. Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibl. Nat. de Vienne, Section des mss. orientaux. Bull. de la soc. française de reprod. de mss. à peintures, XX (1936), Pl. 17a.  
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Kühnel. History of Miniature Painting and Drawing. III, 1830-31; V, Pls. 812-13.
- Buchthal. The Pictorial Art of the Syrian Jacobites in Its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Painting. Pp. 136-50, Fig. 4.
38. Ṭabarī. History (Persian translation). New York, Kevorkian Collection.  
To the list of owners add: Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.  
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39. Shāh-nāma. Various collections.  
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S. Cheney. A World History of Art. New York, 1937. Fig. on p. 848.
40. Kitāb-i-Samak- 'Ayyār. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ouseley 379-81.  
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Kühnel. History of Miniature Painting and Drawing. III, 1830; V, Pl. 815A.

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- 41, 56, and 60. Miscellaneous Miniatures. Istanbul, Top Kapi Saray, 1719.
- I. Stchoukine. Notes sur des peintures persanes du Sérail de Stamboul. Journ. asiatique, CCXXVI (1935), 137ff.  
Kühnel. History of Miniature Painting and Drawing. A Survey of Persian Art. III, 1832; V, Pl. 822.
42. Hasht Bihisht. Various collections.  
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44. Shāh-nāma. Formerly Collection Mrs. M. I. Stephens. Now owned by H. Kevorkian, New York; two miniatures, Fogg Art Museum.  
Catalogue of Valuable Western and Oriental Illuminated Manuscripts. Sotheby and Co., June 23, 1931. P. 16, No. 24A.  
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45. Shāh-nāma. Formerly P. W. Schulz Collection.  
Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. P. 91.
46. Shāh-nāma. Istanbul, Top Kapi Saray, 1397.



- Stchoukine. *La Peinture iranienne*. Pp. 93-94.
48. Mu'nis al-Ahrār fī Daḡā'ik al-Ash'ār. H. Kevorkian, New York; various owners.
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49. *Shāh-nāma*. Various collections.
- To the list of owners add: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland; E. de Lorey, Paris; R. Ettinghausen, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Mrs. C. C. Webber, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- Coomaraswamy. *Early Arabic and Persian Paintings*. P. 53, two first figs. on p. 51, fig. on p. 53.
- Riefstahl. *Catalogue of Persian and Indian Miniature Paintings Forming the Private Collection of D. K. Kelekian*. Nos. 5-9, 2 figs.
- Cott. *Recent Accessions of Near Eastern Miniature Paintings*. Pp. 32-33, 41, Fig. 3.
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- Catalogue, Exhibition of Islamic Art, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum*. No. 46.
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- The V. Everit Macy Collection, *Sale Catalogue*. P. 101, Nos. 436-38, fig. of No. 436.
- R. Ettinghausen. "Six Thousand Years of Persian Art," *The Exhibition of Iranian Art*, New York, 1940. *Ars Islamica*, VII (1940), 110-11, Fig. 5.

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- The manuscript dates from 1262 A.D., but the miniatures are fourteenth or early fifteenth-century work.
- G. Warner. *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*. Oxford, 1920. No. 133, Pl. 121.
51. Bidpai. *Fables*. Paris, Bibl. Nat., pers. 2028.
- Gray. *Fourteenth-Century Illustrations of the Kalilah and Dimnah*. P. 134.
53. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*. Paris. Bibl. Nat., pers. 254 (Suppl. pers. 1113).
- Gray. *Persian Painting*. P. 43.
54. and 67. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*. Various collections.

Holter 54 and 67 are from the same manuscript.

To the list of owners add: Metropolitan Museum, New York; Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Robert Garrett collection; Mrs. C. T. Burnett; J. V. McMullan, New York; H. Kevorkian.

J. Pijoan. *Historia del Mundo*. Barcelona, 1926. III, 429, Fig. 458.

*The Antiquarian*, XIV (1930), 58.

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N. N. Martinovitch. *Die verlorene Handschrift von Rašīd ad-Dīn*. *Artibus Asiae*, V (1935), 213-20, 4 figs.

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Moghadam-Armajani. Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Persian, Turkish and Indic Manuscripts, Including Some Miniatures in the Princeton University Library. Pp. 87, Nos. 192-93.

55. Bidpai. *Fables*. Paris, Bibl. Nat., pers. 2031.

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57. Ibn Bakhtīshū'. *Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān*. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 500.

(Misprint: Anet in Burlington Mag., XXIII (1913), *not* XXII (1912).)

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- Art. Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthropol. Leaflet, 27 (1928), 38-39, Pl. II.
- Dimand. A Guide to an Exhibition of Islamic Miniature Painting. P. 18, Figs. 6-8.
- B. da Costa Greene and M. P. Harrsen. Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1933-1934. New York, 1933. P. 33, Pl. 59.
- E. W. Gudger. How Rats Transport Eggs. Scientific Monthly, XL (1935), 415-24, Fig. 1.
- Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. Pp. 78-80.
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- De Lorey. Peinture musulmane ou peinture iranienne. Figs. 14, 16.
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- 58-59. Ibn Bakhtīshū'. Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān. Various collections.
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- Acquisitions, March 2 through May 3, 1923. Boston Mus. Fine Arts Bull., XXI (1923), No. 125, fig. on p. 45.
- Coomaraswamy. Early Arabic and Persian Paintings. P. 50, 1 fig.
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- Kühnel. History of Miniature Painting and Drawing. III, 1832; V, Pl. 821.
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61. Al-Bīrūnī. Al-Āthār al-Bāqīya. Edinburgh, University Library, No. 161.
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63. Bidpai. *Fables*. Cairo, Bibl. Egypt., Litt. pers. 61.
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- Gray. *Fourteenth-Century Illustrations of the Kalilah and Dimnah*. P. 1350.
64. *Shāh-nāma*. Formerly Demotte Collection. To the list of owners add: Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. pers. 1946; Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit, Michigan; Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.; William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, Mo.; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Worcester Museum of Art, Worcester, Mass.; A. Chester Beatty, Esq., London; the estate of Madame de Béhague; Sir Bernhard Eckstein, London; J. Homberg; C. Filippio, New York; Indjoudjian, Paris; D. K. Kelekian, New York.
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- G. Migeon. *Miniatures persanes, collections Henri Vever et Pozzi. L'Illustration*, LXXXVIII (Noël 1930), No. 4579, 11 figs. in color.
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- A. W. Karnaghan. *The Ross Collection*. Boston Mus. Fine Arts Bull., XXX (1932), Fig. on p. 14.
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- H. H. Schaeder. Firdosi und das persische Nationalepos. Sonderheft: Persien. Illustrierte Zeitung, No. 4668 (Leipzig, 30. August, 1934), 267.
- A. B. Sakisian. L'Exposition de miniature et d'enluminure musulmanes du Metropolitan Museum. Syria, XV (1934), Pl. 33, 2.
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- L. Binyon. The Spirit of Man in Asian Art. Cambridge, 1935. Pp. 119-20, Pls. 30-31.
- Catalogue, Special Exhibition of Persian Art, Toledo Museum of Art. Toledo, 1935. No. 321, illus.
- Cott. Recent Accessions of Near Eastern Miniature Paintings. Pp. 32, 41, Fig. 2.
- M. S. Dimand. Detail of Persian Painting. U.S. Camera. New York, 1935. Pl. 174.
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- G. Guillaume. Miniatures iraniennes de la collection Henri Vêver. P. 136, 1 fig.
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- Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. Pp. 85-91.
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- Guide to the Collections, Pt. I: Ancient and Oriental Art. [Metropolitan Mus.] 3rd ed.; New York, 1937. Fig. on p. 52.
- Schroeder. The Persian Exhibition, 1936. P. 3, Fig. 1 and fig. on cover.
- Corbin. Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Baghdad. Pp. 134 ff., No. 16, Pl. XIII, p. 137, No. 18.
- Gray. Iranian Painting of the Fourteenth Century. Pp. 56-57, Fig. B.
- Kühnel. History of Miniature Painting and Drawing. III, 1835-36; V, Pls. 835-42.
- Pijoan. Middle Ages in Europe, Islam, Far East, American Indian. An Outline History of Art. Fig. on p. 314.
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- D. Brian. A Reconstruction of the Miniature Cycle in the Demotte Shah Namah. Ars Islamica, VI (1939), 97-112.
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- Schroeder, Ahmed Musa and Shams al-Dīn: A Review of Fourteenth Century Painting. Pp. 113-42.
- Valentiner. The Front Plane Relief in Medieval Art. P. 163.
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- Dimand. Persian Miniatures. Pp. 1-2, Figs. 2-4.
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- Gray. Fourteenth-Century Illustrations of the Kalilah and Dimnah. Pp. 139-40, Fig. 5.
65. Bidpai. Fables. H. H. The Nawab of Rampur.
- Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. P. 102.
- Schroeder. Ahmed Musa and Shams al-Din: a Review of Fourteenth Century Painting. P. 126, footnote 63a.
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- Schroeder. Ahmed Musa and Shams al-Din: a Review of Fourteenth Century Painting. Pp. 113-42, Figs. 4, 6-7.
- Gray. Fourteenth-Century Illustrations of the Kalilah and Dimnah. Pp. 135, 139-40, Figs. 6-7.
67. Rashīd al-Dīn. Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh. See under 54.

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- 70A. Rashīd al-Dīn. Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh. Edinburgh, University Library, No. 20.
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- Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. Pp. 81-84.
- Gray. Iranian Painting of the Fourteenth Century. Pp. 54, 56, Fig. A.
- Kühnel. History of Miniature Painting and Drawing. III, 1834-35; V, Pl. 827.
- A. Sakisian. Le Paysage dans la miniature persane. Syria, XIX (1938), 279 ff., Fig. 1.
- 70B. Rashīd al-Dīn. Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh. London, Royal Asiatic Society.
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- Brockelmann. Der Islām von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. P. 149.
- Mann. Der Islam einst und jetzt. Fig. 15.
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Kühnel. History of Miniature Painting and Drawing. III, 1834-35; V, Pl. 828.

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Corbin. Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad. P. 142, No. 23, Pl. XIV, 1-2.

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74. Baiṭar-nāma. Cairo, Bibl. Egypt.

The shelfmark of the MS is "med. 49."

75. Ḥarīrī. *Maḳāmāt*. London, British Museum, Add. 7293.

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76. Ḥarīrī. *Maḳāmāt*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek A. F. 9.

Holter. Les Principaux manuscrits à miniatures de la Bibl. Nat. de Vienne. Pp. 92-94, Pl. 17B.

Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. P. 95.

P. K. Hitti. History of the Arabs. London, 1937. Fig. on p. 422.

Holter. Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Hariri der Wiener Nationalbibliothek. Pls. III-V, Figs. 11-34.

77. Ḥarīrī. *Maḳāmāt*. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Marsh 458.

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Bahrami. Recherches sur les carreaux de revêtement lustré dans la céramique persane du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. P. 44, Fig. 12.

78. Bidpai. Fables. Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 3467. (suppl. 1802).

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Binyon. The Spirit of Man in Asian Art. P. 118, Pl. 29.

Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. Pp. 98-99.

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Bidpai, Forefather of Fables. No. 3, 25-28.

De Lorey. Le Miroir de Bagdad. 1 fig. Kühnel. Die bagdader Malerschule.

- Pp. 203-7, 1 fig.
79. Bidpai. Fables. Munich, Staatsbibl., Cod. arab. 616.  
Holter. Die Galen-Handschrift. Fig. 35.
80. Bidpai, Fables. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Pococke 400.  
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Stchoukine. La Peinture iranienne. P. 99.  
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13. *Shāh-nāma*. New York, Collection of H. K. Monif. Related to preceding number and to Holter Nos. 39 and 45. Catalogue, Exhibition of Islamic Art, M. H. De Young Museum. Nos. 27-34; perhaps also No. 36. Schroeder. *Iranian Book Painting*. P. 6, Fig. 1.
14. *Shāh-nāma*. London, Collection of A. Chester Beatty, Esq. Related to Holter No. 39, and preceding, perhaps identical. G. Wiet. *Exposition d'Art persan. Société des amis de l'art*. Le Caire, 1935. Pp. 89-90, Nos. 117-36, Pls. 58-59.
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## NOTES

### AN EGYPTO-ARABIC CLOISONNÉ ENAMEL

Cloisonné is undoubtedly one of the most difficult of the several processes for making enamels. Thin gold wires are soldered to a gold background, and the cells thus formed are filled with a paste of enamel. This is fired in a furnace and comes out glasslike; it is then polished. The effect is the richest achieved by any of these processes. Persia<sup>1</sup> is generally looked upon as the place where cloisonné enameling originated, but so far no discoveries have been made there to justify this belief. The Byzantines were already employing enamel in the sixth century of our era, and it was they who carried the art to its highest perfection.

The Byzantines, however, were not alone in employing this sumptuous minor art. About 1300, at the command of his patrons, Master Guillaume Julien in Paris executed cloisonné enamels with great success for the decoration of reliquaries and other objects. The Moors<sup>2</sup> in Spain during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries decorated horse trappings and trinkets with medallions of cloisonné enameling. Sicilian craftsmen in the early Middle Ages made enamels by this method for royal patrons.<sup>3</sup>

Some years ago there was discovered at Fustāt in Egypt, with other Arabic trinkets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a small cloisonné enamel<sup>4</sup> with an Arabic inscription in Kufic, stating that "God is an Excellent Guard." Since this was discovered on an Islamic site with

other objects of Islamic origin there can be no doubt that it was made by and for a Muslim. I believe that it was made in Egypt, where it was found and where the Arabs had long since established themselves.

Mr. Joseph Upton called my attention to several other enamels in the Cairo Museum that I have been unable to see. One is crescent-shaped, and on two of them a pair of birds is depicted opposed on either side of the fountain of life. One of these bits of enamel is in its original setting, that doubtless once served as a pendant. A third enamel in the museum, also crescent-shaped, has a Neskhi inscription in Arabic: "Lasting Glory." This inscription confirms the opinion that the Fustāt enamels were Muslim in origin and were made in Egypt in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum of Art received as a bequest from Mr. Theodore M. Davis an enamel<sup>6</sup> which links all these together (*Fig. 1*). It is set in a pendant of delicate and beautiful filigree-work of the same design as that in the

<sup>5</sup> Zaky Mohammed Hassan, in *Kunūz al-Fāṭimiyīn* (Cairo, 1937), gives illustrations of these enamels together with two others (pp. 245-46) and mentions several small pieces in the collection of Mr. Ralph Harari, Cairo. These would still further indicate that the making of enamels was a well-established art in Cairo.

I am indebted to Dr. Ettinghausen for the reference and to Dr. Nabih Amin Faris for the translation of the pertinent text passages of the above-mentioned book.

<sup>6</sup> J. J. Rorimer, "The European Decorative Arts, the Theodore M. Davis Bequest," *Bull. Metropolitan Mus. Art*, 1931, sec. II, p. 24. Wrongly called Byzantine. Mr. Davis, it might be pointed out, was an Egyptologist and often in Egypt, where he acquired many objects.

After the foregoing part of this note had been set up the Metropolitan Museum brought out a picture book of *Near Eastern Jewelry*, arranged by M. S. Dimand and H. E. McAllister (New York, 1940), which contains a brief reference to this piece in the introductory text and illustrates it with the correct caption: "Pendant with cloisonné enamel. Egypto-Arabic, Fatimid period, middle of the eleventh century."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Margulies, "Cloisonné Enamel," *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. by A. U. Pope and Phyllis Ackerman (New York and London, 1939), I, 779 ff.

<sup>2</sup> M. Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst: Granulation* (Frankfurt, 1918), Figs. 275-79. Also Walters Art Gallery, No. 44.151.

<sup>3</sup> W. Burger, *Abendländische Schmelzarbeiten* (Berlin, 1930), p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris, 1927), II, Fig. 222.

metalwork discovered at Fustāt with the enameled medallion. This enamel is also crescent-shaped, and the design of two birds recalls in drawing the birds on an enamel in Cairo. Thus, the objects of the group are so intimately inter-related through the goldsmithwork, the enamel, and the design, that I conclude that they were all made in Egypt, with which all but one piece is associated, and probably in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when such arts were at their height there.

In addition to the pieces of enamel found in Egypt, there is a literary source which is of interest in localizing these enamels. Maḡrīzī in his *Khīṭaṭ* quoted a book<sup>7</sup> concerning the Fatimid treasure in Cairo. It was written before the burning of the treasure in 1062 A.D. In this inventory several items are described as being decorated with *mīnā*. The meaning of the word *mīnā*, which is used seven times, is not always clear from the text. Sometimes, it appears to refer to lustered glass, at other times, to glass paste. At least once it refers to translucent enamel.<sup>8</sup> From our knowledge of the history of enameling, in the eleventh century such enamel could only be cloisonné. This proves that enameled objects were not unknown in Fatimid Egypt. Further, the enamels isolated here give some idea of what the enamels in the Fatimid treasure were like. If the gold plaques with *mīnā* sent by the emperor from Constantinople were decorated with enamel, as they may have been, they were a possible source for the inspiration of the enamellers in Egypt.

Hence, there is added a new province where enamels<sup>9</sup> were made in the Near East. This is

<sup>7</sup> P. Kahle, "Die Schätze der Fatimiden," *Zeitschr. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, N.F., XIV (1935), 329-62. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Ettinghausen.

<sup>8</sup> K. Röder, "Das Mīnā im Bericht über die Schätze der Fatimiden," *Zeitschr. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, N.F., XIV (1935), 370.

<sup>9</sup> See also B. Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-*

important, for it proves what has generally been suspected, that there were a number of centers for producing enamels. It has generally been assumed, for instance, that the Moors in Spain also made cloisonné enamels from early times.<sup>10</sup> It is definitely known that they made them in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Walters Art Gallery has a set of trinkets<sup>11</sup> (Figs. 2-4) that the dealer asserted were found in Ma-

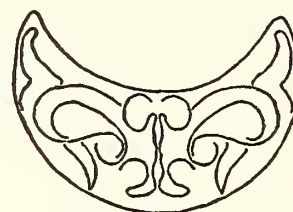


FIG. 4—AN ENAMEL IN FIGURE 2  
DRAWN BY C. MORGAN MARSHALL

dīnat al-Zahrā' near Cordoba. The information of dealers is often unreliable, but another set in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, also found in Spain and acquired in 1870, contains, among other pieces, including coins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a star-shaped ornament that may be compared with the one in the Walters group for shape and technique.<sup>12</sup> None of these ornaments in Baltimore or London are equal in quality with those in Cairo. It is possible that they were imported, but they differ sufficiently from those found in Egypt to lead me to believe they were made in Spain. On two pieces at the Walters Art Gallery are tiny bits of cloisonné enameling (Figs. 3 and 4), and others have spaces where the enamel has fallen out. The shapes of the various pieces, the design, the

*Arbeiten: Museum Benaki* (Athens, 1938), No. 325, for another possible example. For the goldwork, cf. Nos. 325-27 in Miss Segall's catalogue.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. W. L. Hildburgh, *Medieval Spanish Enamels* (Oxford, 1936), p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 57.1596, 1-45.

<sup>12</sup> Photograph No. 71771. Museum Nos. 1447-54, 1870.



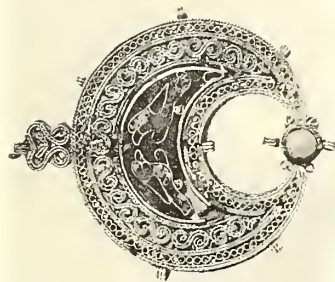


FIG. 1—EARRING, EGYPT  
ELEVENTH CENTURY  
NEW YORK  
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART  
COURTESY METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 3—AN ENAMEL IN FIGURE 2  
DRAWN BY C. MORGAN MARSHALL

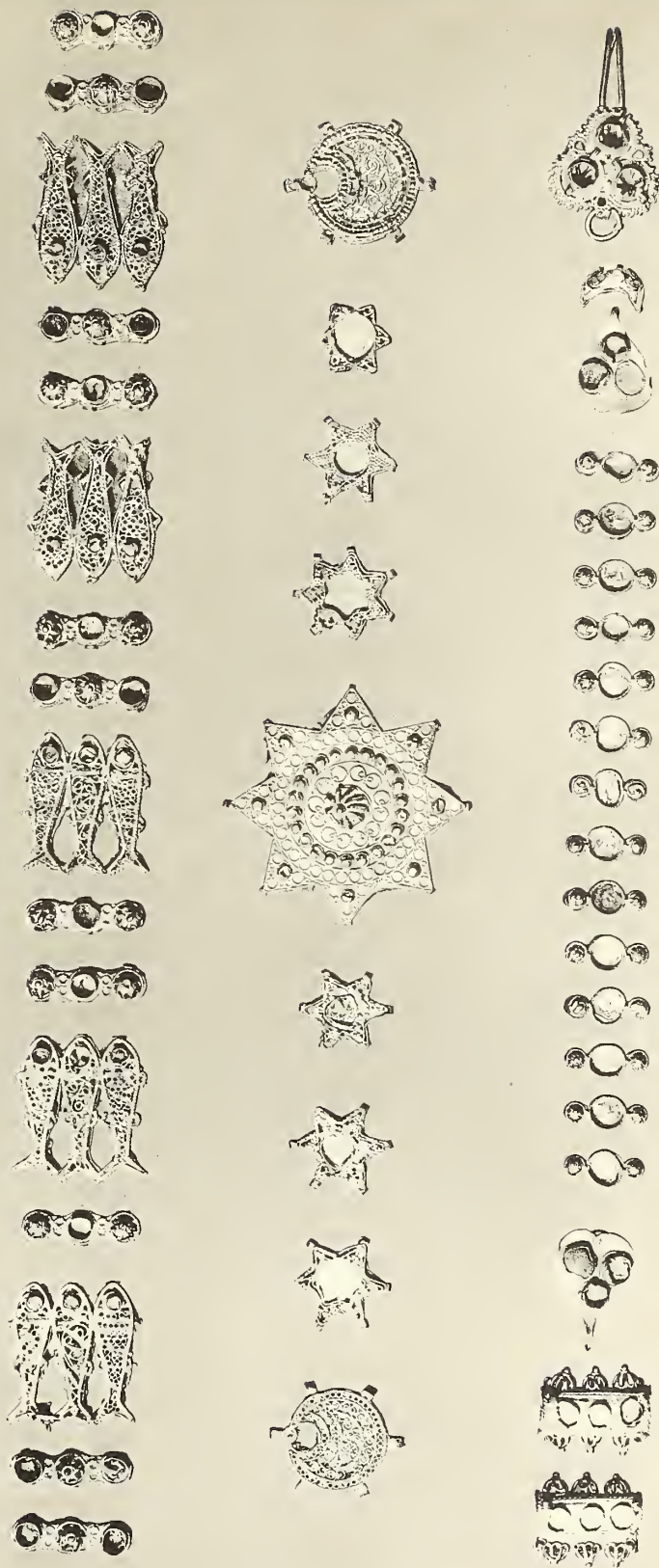


FIG. 2—JEWELRY, HISPANO-MAURESQUE (?) ELEVENTH CENTURY  
BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY





technique, and the enameling, although inferior, link these trinkets with those in Cairo. Thus, two small bits of enamel that appear to have been found in Spain and that are similar to other metalwork found there establish the possibility that cloisonné enameling was practiced by the Spanish Moors centuries before the period when the better-known fourteenth- and fifteenth-century horse trappings, sword hilts, and other ornaments were made. The metalwork in London, found with coins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, helps to confirm the date for both the Hispano-Moresque and the Egypto-Arabic pieces.

It has generally been assumed that the Moors in Spain learned the art from the Near East, but, so far, a link has never been established. The group of enamels in Cairo, related with other metalwork believed to be from Spain, gives a connecting link. It would have been only natural for the Spanish Moors to learn the art from the Arabs in Egypt or to import workmen from that region to teach them. However the case may have been, one is now enabled to trace the art from Egypt to Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when, no doubt, the technique was mastered and passed on to the later generations who produced the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century enamels.

MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

#### TWO EXHIBITIONS IN STOCKHOLM AND SOME SASANIAN TEXTILE PATTERNS

In the National Museum of Stockholm two exhibitions of Islamic and related arts were arranged during the year 1939-40; both were exclusively of material in Swedish possession. No catalogues were issued. In the winter the Department of Prints and Drawings had a fine display of miniatures and bookbindings, some of which were for the first time shown to the public. Some detached miniatures from a *Shah Namah* manuscript, hitherto regarded as Safa-

wid, were recognized as mid-fifteenth century work of good quality. Some of the Indian miniatures exhibited are of outstanding artistic merit. Those belonging to the National Museum are to be published in the museum's *Yearbook*.

The second exhibition took place during the summer in the Department of Arts and Crafts; it was entirely devoted to textiles excavated in Egypt and filled four rooms. Half a room was given over to fragmentary textiles of Sasanian and related types made of wool used alone or in combination with undyed cotton; they belonged to the three classes described in my work *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles of the Near East*,<sup>1</sup> viz., compound ("polymita") twill and rep weaves, tapestries, and chain stitch embroideries. This exhibition gave me an opportunity to study at some ease interesting specimens of the first-mentioned class which were inadequately reproduced or only cursorily mentioned in my book.<sup>2</sup>

The fragment reproduced in Figure 1 (27 by 10 cm.) belongs to the Röhss Museum, Gothenburg.<sup>3</sup> The design of this twilled textile, of red, green, buff, and dark blue wools, with its fluted amphoras and Vitruvian scrolls, bears the stamp of pure Hellenism, but all its elements (as far as they may be recognized) have parallels within Parthian and early Sasanian art. This fragment, be it Sasanian or not, should probably be assigned to the latter half of the fifth century.

The acme of purely Sasanian textile design is represented by a fragment (not on exhibition in Stockholm) presented by Lady Russell Pasha, together with some other textiles of the same class, to the Victoria and Albert Museum, Lon-

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> This time again I had the privilege of making use of the draughtsmanship of my mother, Mrs. Dora Lamm, who has rendered in Indian ink some patterns which photography fails to detect.

<sup>3</sup> No. 39/1936; Lamm, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff., Fig. 4.

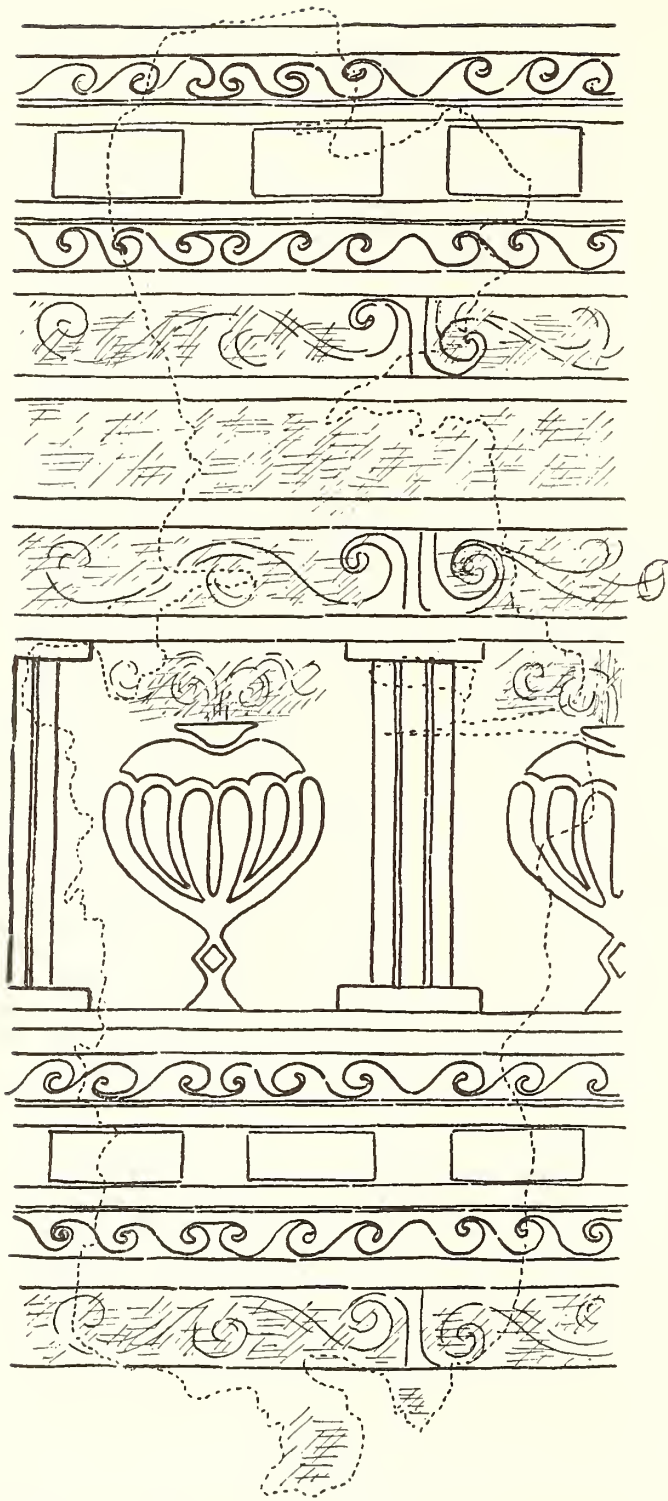


FIG. 1—WOOL COMPOUND TWILL. GOTHENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM

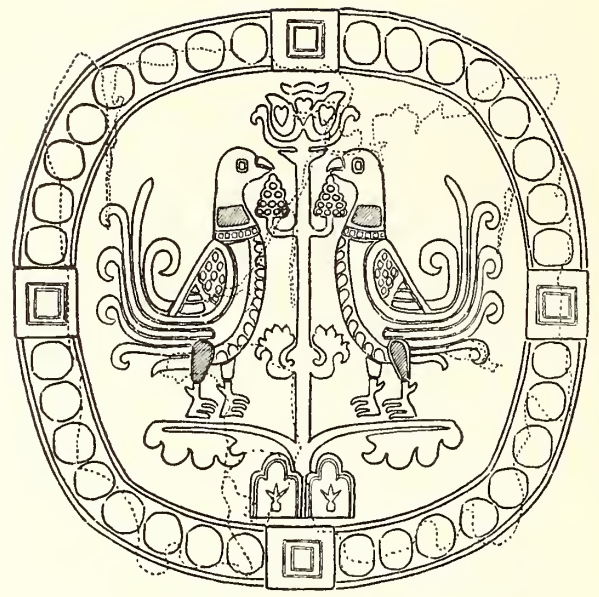


FIG. 2—COMPOUND TWILL, WOOL, AND COTTON  
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

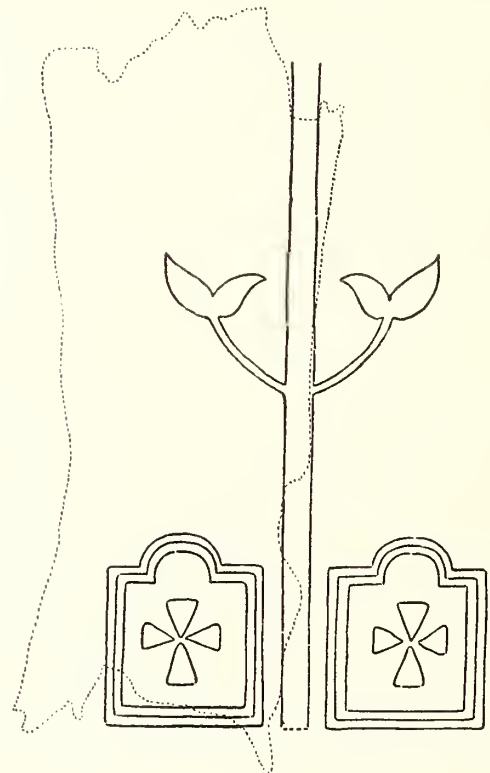


FIG. 3—COMPOUND TWILL, WOOL, AND COTTON  
GOTHENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM



don (*Fig. 2*).<sup>4</sup> The pattern stands in the natural color of the cotton on a red ground, now faded into a dull brownish shade. Buff wool has been used for the warps. Within a frame of beads and square *cabochons* are two cocks flanking a "tree of life" emerging from between two "mountains," marked by fleurets. On a related fragment in the Röhss Museum (*Fig. 3*),<sup>5</sup> these

to the same museum (*Fig. 4*).<sup>6</sup> Here this device is not placed within a medallion, but is in a hexagonal field. The irregular shape of this field makes me believe that it had its place close to one of the selvages, a detached minute part of which has been preserved. The device to be seen in a lower tier of hexagons may perhaps be interpreted as a fire altar. On the side of the

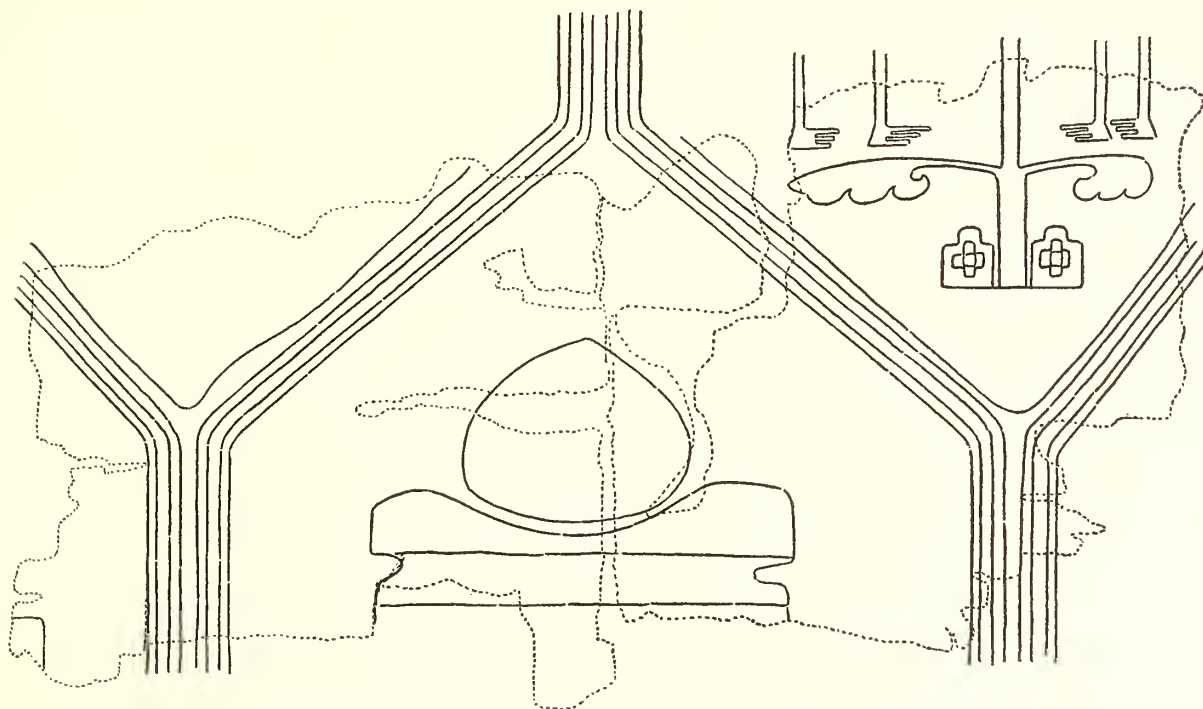


FIG. 4—WOOL COMPOUND TWILL. GOTHENBURG, RÖHSS MUSEUM

devices are replaced by cross flowers which give the "mountains" with their lobed upper outline the appearance of a tombstone. These cross designs should probably not be regarded as Christian symbols. On the textile in the Röhss Museum nothing remains of the birds; only their legs have been partly preserved in a similar design to be seen on another fragment belonging

textile that from a technical point of view should be regarded as the face, the design is marred by a buff band, the insertion of which is quite comprehensible when the fabric is seen from the back (as in Figure 4), where, however, the "flame" stands out in green on a red background and not, as would be more logical, in red on green. Another fragment in the Röhss Museum (*Fig. 5*),<sup>7</sup> shows in green, red, and buff on buff

<sup>4</sup> No. T. 129/1937; Figure 2 is made from a photograph.

<sup>5</sup> No. 66/1936, 25.5 by 10.5 cm.

<sup>6</sup> No. 56/1936, 17 by 36 cm.; Lamm, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Fig. 6.

<sup>7</sup> No. 55/1936, 18.5 by 16 cm..

warps a trellis pattern with confronted birds, cruciform flowers, and square *cabochons*; the completion of this pattern has been attempted in Figure 5.

A similar difficulty in making a distinction between back and face that was met with in the study of one of the textiles in Gothenburg exists regarding a fragment in private possession, at present in Stockholm (12 by 31 cm., *Fig. 6*). The side shown in the reproduction (the only one that is well preserved) is technically to be regarded as the back. It shows the pattern in red on a background of undyed cotton. The birds represented on this fabric are angularized to a degree that makes a dating in the eighth century probable, whereas the compound twills reproduced in Figures 2–5 may be assigned to the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries. A similar date should perhaps be given to a "*polymita*" repwoven in brownish red wool and undyed cotton on buff, woolen warps and belonging to the National Museum, Stockholm (*Fig. 7*).<sup>8</sup> This fragment shows parts of a large rectangular frame with diagonal battlements of an ancient Oriental type adopted by Parthian and Sasanian art; motifs resembling ladders, perhaps of some mystical significance, having been placed

toward the one corner that has been preserved.

That textiles of related workmanship continued to be made long within the Islamic period is proved by a fragment (not exhibited in Stockholm) belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Fig. 8*).<sup>9</sup> The design consists of a frieze running in the direction of the buff warps (two-stranded but not doubled), and containing in undyed cotton on green and brownish red grounds, a Kufic inscription, not yet deciphered, of indisputable Iranian type. Although some of the letters are interlaced, this textile may be approximately dated as early as the end of the tenth century.

As there still seems to be a tendency of ignoring textiles such as those herein discussed, whereas every little piece of silk—a material originally foreign to Iran—is given an exhaustive investigation, and as the phrase "Egyptian copy" is constantly being used as a panacea for the solution of all sorts of problems (just as if Coptic art did not exist!), I must again insist on the vital importance of the study of such textiles for the true understanding of Sasanian art and its radiation.

CARL JOHAN LAMM

<sup>8</sup> No. 23/1939, C.J.L. I, 11b, 11 by 25 cm., Lamm, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> No. T. 79/1934, 99 by 16 cm., Figure 8 is a portion; made of right-spun material.



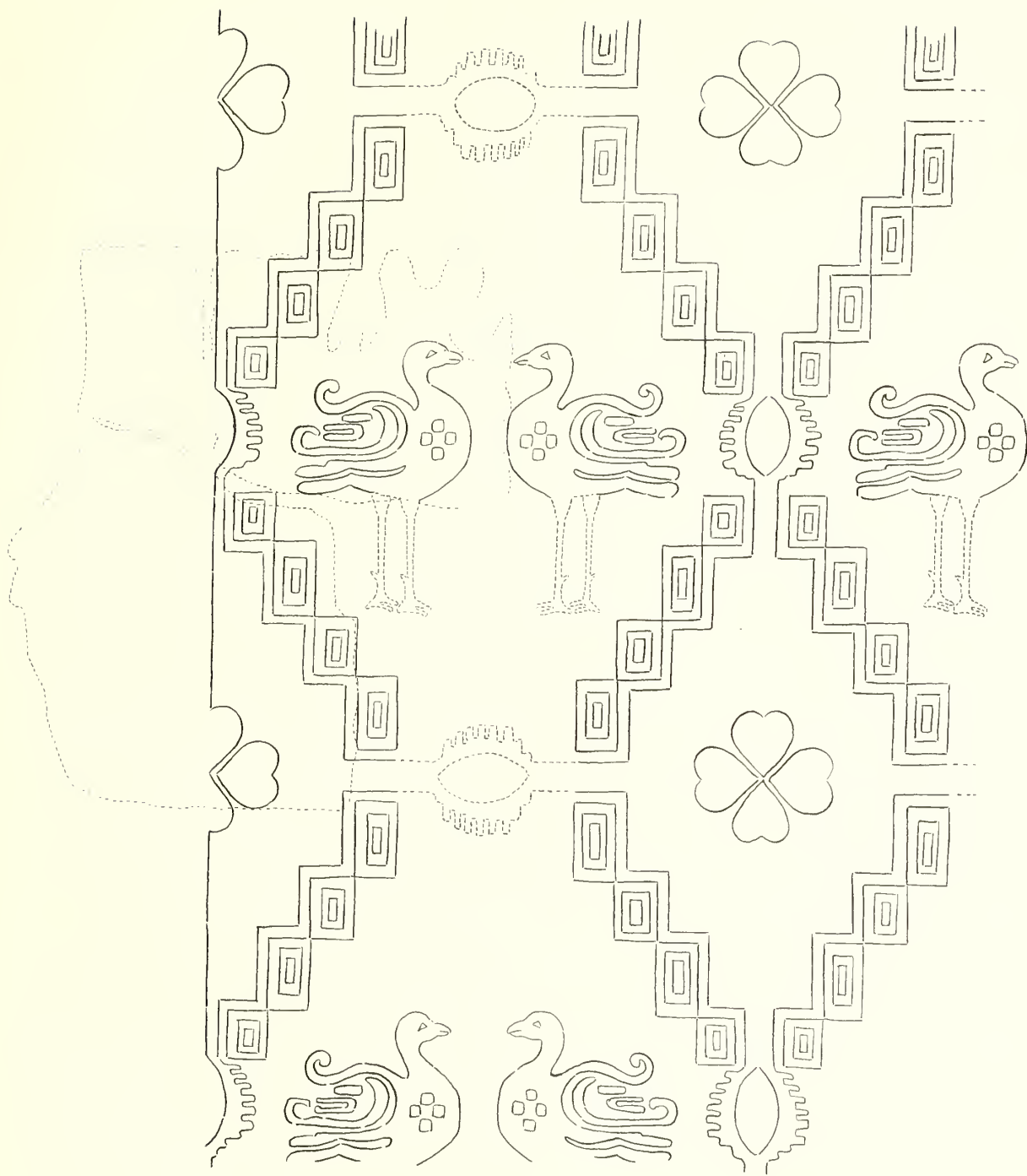


FIG. 5—WOOL COMPOUND TWILL. RECONSTRUCTION  
RÖHSS MUSEUM, GOTHENBURG

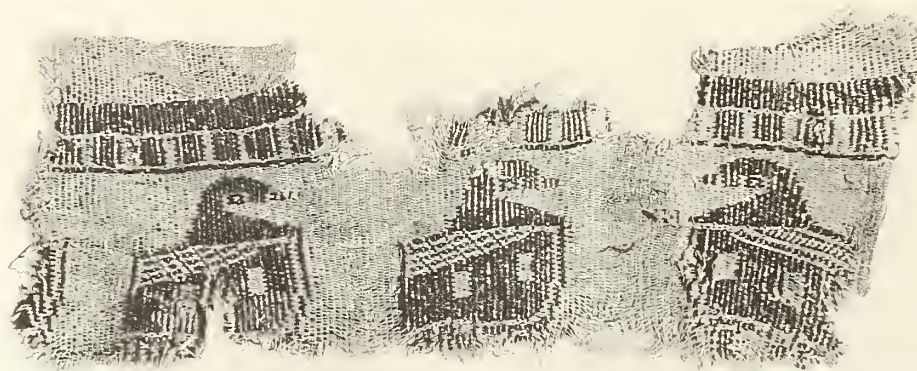


FIG. 6—COMPOUND TWILL, WOOL, AND COTTON  
PRIVATE COLLECTION, TEMPORARILY IN STOCKHOLM



FIG. 7—COMPOUND CLOTH, WOOL, AND COTTON  
NATIONAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

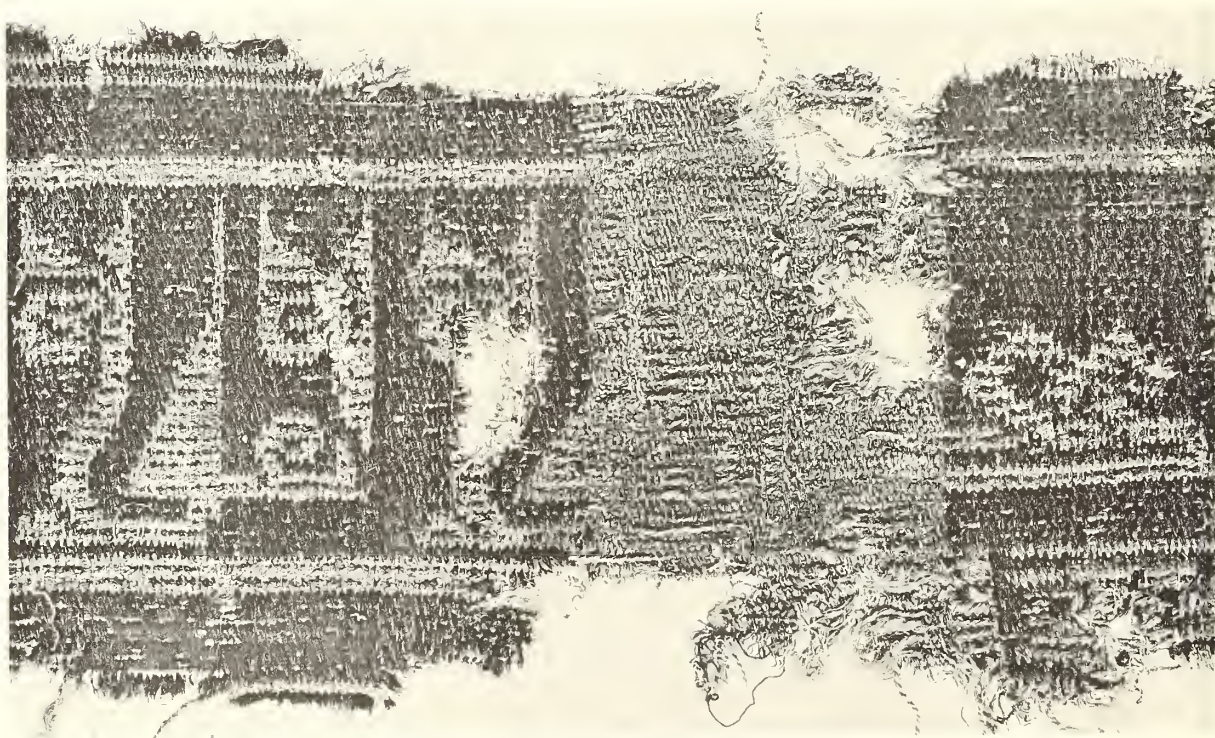


FIG. 8—COMPOUND CLOTH, WOOL, AND COTTON (DETAIL)  
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Selective Bibliography of Hispano-Islamic Art in Spain and Northern Africa (711-1492).*

By Harriet Dyer Adams. New York: Institute of Fine Arts, 1939. Pp. 79. \$2.50.<sup>1</sup>

A comprehensive bibliography of Hispano-Islamic art in Spain and North Africa, the only one in existence, has been compiled with intelligence and admirable industry by Miss Harriet Adams in connection with a seminar in Spanish mediaeval art conducted by Dr. Walter W. S. Cook of New York University. An astonishing amount of material has been gathered, examined, and classified with scholarly precision.

The bibliography consists of two parts, the first devoted to general and related works, and the second specifically to books and articles on Hispano-Islamic art in Spain and North Africa. Part I is divided into seven large sections. The first of these, bibliographies of bibliographies, is followed by a group of reference works, such as dictionaries and encyclopedias. In the next nineteen pages appear descriptive works, a compilation of provincial catalogues, travel books, geographic books, and a large number of studies of Spain and North Africa, arranged by provinces, general in nature and embracing more than the Islamic field proper. The succeeding list of historical material is, on the contrary, limited to the history of the Moslems in Spain and North Africa. Studies of Hispano-Islamic culture, i.e., institutions, music, and literature, follow, and thereafter the final section of Part I: on the influence of Hispano-Islamic art, in which are included Mudejar art and the influence of Islamic art on the Romanesque and Gothic in Europe and on Mexican art.

In Part II Miss Adams has brought together an exhaustive bibliography of the main subject,

Hispano-Islamic art in Spain and North Africa. All books and articles are classified in five categories: general works, archaeology, paleography, architecture, and decorative arts. The first section comprises general studies of Islamic art, provincial catalogues, and catalogues of private collections and of exhibitions. The section on archaeology deals chiefly with excavations, and that succeeding with paleography, numismatics, and epigraphy. The chief substance of the bibliography is yet to come: the section on architecture and decorative arts. Architecture has three subdivisions: general works, design, ornament and construction, and finally monuments. The monuments themselves are classified by country and further subdivided by dynasties. In conclusion are the twenty pages of the last section entitled decorative arts, which contains eleven subheadings: handbooks, sculpture, metalwork, ceramics, mosaic and tile, glass and enamel, carpets, textiles, leather, bookbinding, and manuscripts.

Certain minor flaws, such as an occasional lack of consistency in punctuation and the frequent omission of Spanish accents, should be eradicated before the bibliography is printed. One might quarrel too over the classification of individual titles, for personal judgment will inevitably vary in such matters. These considerations are negligible, however, and Miss Adams is to be congratulated on having prepared a work which will prove invaluable to all students of Islamic and of Spanish art.

HAROLD E. WETHEY

*The Rise of the North Arabic Script and Its Qur'ānic Development, with a Full Description of the Qur'ān Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute.* By Nabia Abbott. (Univ. Chicago Oriental Institute Publications,

<sup>1</sup> Copies in mimeograph form are available at the Institute of Fine Arts, 17 East 80 Street, New York City.

Vol. L). \$10. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xxii+103, 33 pls., 1 fig., 1 map.

Few books in the field of Islamic studies could have been more welcome than a history of the Arabic script. More than a century has passed since De Sacy, Adler, and Kopp developed their theories on this subject, and the need for a comprehensive study was strongly felt, but very little, indeed, was done. There is still only one short general survey, Moritz' article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, which, in spite of its great merits, is by now wholly inadequate. Miss Abbott did not attempt to cover the whole field. As the title indicates, it was her task to publish the Koranic manuscripts of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, and her study of the rise of the north Arabic script, although the most important part of this volume, is, in a way, merely an introduction. The main conclusions of the book are (1) that the Arabic script originated in the Nabataean region and moved from that center to the Ghassanids, from there to the Lakhmids and thence to the Hejaz; (2) that the general terms "Kufic" and "Neskhi," sanctified by now through old usage, have to be definitely abandoned, and used solely in a very restricted sense; (3) that a number of scripts, known from literary Arabic sources only, can be properly identified. The volume is full of minute observations, and it is they that give it special value. The author has had the advantage of stimulating discussions with Professor Sprengling, whose views are often quoted in the text and notes. One can only hope that Miss Abbott will not limit her studies in Arabic palaeography to the treasures of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, rich as they are, but that in the course of time she will cover the whole field.

The following notes may be recorded. Page 9: Miss Abbott's hypothesis that a Jew may have had a hand in the development of the Arabic script, flattering as it is to the Jews, seems

very unlikely, as in that event the Arabic script would have been more like the contemporary square Hebrew. Page 9: It is hard to understand why the name 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib should not be considered merely theophoric.

Page 13: One would like to know on what grounds the author assumes that inscribed tombstones were common in pre-Islamic Arabia. From what we know it would be more likely to take it for granted that the tombstones were plain or showed a *wasīm* at the utmost. One should expect that during the *Djāhiliya* north Arabic script would have been used more for graffiti or memoranda on parchment, papers, and bones than on votive stones or tombstones.

Page 15: The dirhem dated 40 H. is still an object open to discussion. Although a genuine coin, there is obviously a mistake in its date, where 40 stands for  $4 + x$  tens,  $x$  being in this case most likely *eight* (84 H.). Page 21: the author's not very complimentary description of the average Syrian Christian should be softened in view of the fact that Garshuni is not an isolated case, but one of many where we see that the script used by a given nation in the field of religion is kept when using the vernacular, although that vernacular had a script of its own. Thus, e.g., Arabic among Jews was written almost exclusively in Hebrew characters, Servian amongst the Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina is written in Arabic letters, although their Christian neighbors use the Slavonic script, etc. Page 25: What Miss Abbott identifies as the *Mashḵ* script is the type most commonly used on early Abbasid coins. Page 32: The author very rightly lays stress on the relations between size and angularity of the script.

Page 35: Miss Abbott deserves our special thanks for having reconstructed Ibn Muḳla's script. I think that many of us imagined something on the same lines, but to pin it down in black on white shows that the whole script is exceedingly graceless, without having even the



slightly clumsy charm which we sometimes find in Maghribi script. It is obvious, therefore, that Ibn Muḳla's reform must have lain in something very different from the building of the letters, as it is impossible that a script developed in the tenth century and considered beautiful by those who witnessed the beauty of Mesopotamian and Persian ornament of that time, could have looked anything like what it looks in this reconstruction.

Page 41: In judging any western Arabic script, we should recall the fact reported by Ibn Khaldun<sup>1</sup> that in the Maghrib the children learned writing by copying whole words instead of single letters, whereas those of the eastern provinces learned to master the letters first. It is quite possible that this method is responsible for the so curious effect of the Maghribi hand.

Pages 46-47: Whatever the proper interpretation of the word *nabī ummī* may be, there can be little doubt about Muhammad's being well acquainted with writing. There are verses in the Koran (like XXI, 104, and several others) which would be strange—to say the least—in the mouth of somebody to whom writing is not part of his daily life. Are we to assume that all these are later interpolations? Page 51 l. 29: "Cairo" is obviously here a lapsus calami for "Fuṣṭāṭ." Page 53: *Warrāḳ* could mean "writer on parchment" as well as "on paper," since *awrāḳ* are not only leaves of paper but also parchments. Pages 71-73: It is a pity that some of the inscriptions discussed are not illustrated, since the reader is not given a chance to work out a solution of his own. All the texts offering doubtful points could have appeared on half a plate.

Miss Abbott has collected her bibliography with great care and judgment. But a place should have been found, perhaps, for Lenormant

who was the first and Langlois who was the second to insist on the Nabataean origin of the Arabic script, further for J. J. Marcel, *Paléographie arabe, ou Recueil de mémoires sur différents monuments lapidaires, numismatiques, glyptiques et manuscrits, présentant des inscriptions koufiques et karmatiques* (Paris, 1828); A. Pihan, *Notice sur les divers genres d'écriture ancienne et moderne des arabes, des persans et des turcs* (Paris, 1856); A. Shebunin, "Kuficheskiy Koran Imp. Spb. Publichnoy Biblioteki," *Zapiski Vostochnavo Otdyeleniya Imp. Russ. Arkheol. Obshchestva*, VI (1892), 69-133, Pls. VI-X; E. Amar, "Essai sur l'origine de l'écriture chez les arabes," *Revue tunisienne*, XIII (1906), 531-44, XIV (1907), 147-54; A. Akhtar, "The Art of Waraqaṭ," *Islamic Culture*, IX (1935), 131-43; D. Diringer, *L'Alfabeto nella storia della civiltà* (Firenze, 1937).

L. A. MAYER

*The Treasury of Persepolis and Other Discoveries in the Homeland of the Achaemenians.* By Erich F. Schmidt. (*Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 21.) Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xxi+139, frontis., 97 figs. \$4.00.

Dr. Schmidt's book is a report of the excavations at and near Persepolis which he directed from 1935 to 1937, following Professor Herzfeld who had successfully started the work for the Oriental Institute and had acted as field director from 1931 to 1934. The investigated sites were mainly pre-Islamic, so that the bulk of the book dealing with the defense system and the treasury at Persepolis does not concern us in a journal devoted to Islamic art.

Only in two instances were Islamic layers excavated. A trench in front of the tomb of Darius the Great at Naḳsh-i Rostam revealed a very early Islamic layer above Sasanian and Achaemenian ones (pp. 98-101). Dr. Schmidt

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena*, ed. by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1858), II, 338-39.

points to the almost total absence of glazed ceramics, which corroborates a similar situation at other pre-Islamic sites in Iran. He repeats an opinion earlier expressed by him and by other scholars,<sup>1</sup> "that Iran had no share in the development of the beautiful glazed ware which suddenly appears in great quantities after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate." With the exception of a solitary late Achaemenian bottle with a thin mat turquoise-blue glaze, now mostly turned yellow and flaking off in parts (p. 85) all glazed pieces discussed in the book are of the Abbasid period.

A bronze lamp attributed to the Sasanian period (Fig. 72, No. NR 25) reveals an early instance of a motif—the flanking of a round form by bird heads—found in Sasanian art and also in later Islamic times, especially in the Seljuk period. In this instance one would hardly recognize this zoomorphic form, as only the upper parts of the birds' skulls with the eyes and upper beaks are preserved. The other more complete examples leave, however, no doubt about the meaning of this decoration.<sup>2</sup> The ring-shaped handle with its kidney-shaped thumb piece has its counterparts in late-Sasanian and post-Sasanian silver vessels; there the thumb rest is usually decorated and closely attached to the vessel;<sup>3</sup> in the pottery imitations of such metal prototypes, especially of the earlier Islamic pe-

riods, these handles are undecorated.<sup>4</sup> The bronze lamp represents, therefore, a link between silver vessels and potteries, and between Sasanian art in general and the succeeding epochs, culminating in Seljuk art.

Of greater significance than the brief account of the Islamic layer at Naqsh-e Rostam is the short report on Ištakhr. Herzfeld pointed to the importance of this site in his "Reisebericht,"<sup>5</sup> and he made the first excavations there (p. 107). The site covers a succession of important layers starting probably with the Elamite one, succeeded by Achaemenian, Seleucid, Arsacid, and Islamic strata. The city flourished until the tenth century A.D. Dr. Schmidt's short analysis of a splendid "aerial X Ray" of the mound and his comparison with the survey map by F. Krefter and K. Bergner is very instructive and shows the great value of such aerial photographs for the excavator (Figs. 74 and 96, pp. 133–36). The archaeological results—mostly of the early Islamic period—will be presented in a special publication, so that the present report has only a preliminary character. As indicated earlier by Herzfeld, the site is very rich in ceramic material comparable in artistic and historical significance with the finds of Samarra and Rayy;<sup>6</sup> this is fully corroborated in a statement by Schmidt so that the appearance of the final publication will be eagerly awaited.

To give a taste of what may be expected, Schmidt presents eleven pieces of Islamic ce-

<sup>1</sup> E. F. Schmidt, "The Persian Expedition," *Bull. Univ. Mus.*, V (1935), 47; J. M. Upton, "The Persian Expedition 1933–34," *Bull. Metropolitan Mus. Art*, XXIX (1934), No. 12, sec. II, 17–18. The reviewer concurs with this opinion.

<sup>2</sup> R. Ettinghausen, "Six Thousand Years of Persian Art," *The Exhibition of Iranian Art*, New York, 1940, *Ars Islamica*, VII (1940), Fig. 19; R. Harari, "Metalwork after the Early Islamic Period," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York, 1939), VI, Pl. 1299.

<sup>3</sup> I. Ī. Smirnov, *Vostochnoe Serebro* ("Argenterie orientale") (St. Petersburg, 1909), Pl. LXV, Nos. 110, 112, 113; Pl. LXVII, No. 117.

<sup>4</sup> T. J. Arne, "En Sino-Iransk Kopp," *Formvännern K. Vitter Hets, Historie och Antikvitets Akademien*, II (1938), Figs. 6–8. The type is extensively discussed in the doctoral thesis of Florence E. Day, "Mesopotamian Pottery, Parthian, Sasanian, and Early Islamic" (University of Michigan, 1940). It is to be hoped that this important study will be soon published, as it clarifies many problems in the history of Near Eastern ceramics.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschr. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, V (1926), 244–45.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.



ramics together with a few other finds of the latest, viz. Islamic, period of the city. Among the unglazed wares is a specimen of a rare type of Islamic pottery, a wide-necked, narrow-footed pitcher covered with yellowish brown slip and painted gray and red-brown with floral designs and an unusual type of sham Kufic. The scale of the decoration and the character of the large arabesques recall a rich polychrome glazed bowl of the eighth or early ninth century excavated in Nishapur,<sup>7</sup> which is apparently contemporary. Painted unglazed wares of the Islamic period have been only rarely found in Iran.

So far, according to Schmidt, the Iṣṭakhr material has not yielded any new evidence which could help in deciding the controversy about the origin of luster. This technique was only rarely represented among the finds. A saucer of the "all-over" luster type has a fine dark yellowish brown paste and belongs to the group which A. Lane has recently ascribed, with good reason, to the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris.<sup>8</sup>

A two-tone luster bowl of the "Samarra eagle bowl type" has the typical fine yellow Samarra paste. Its unusual off-center pattern set against a characteristic background, part floral, part geometric, has so far withstood an interpretation. It somehow recalls the likewise unexplained decoration on a contemporary blue and white bowl in the collection of the Art Institute, Chicago,<sup>9</sup> where a related rectangular center piece with a round nucleus (instead of the spiral) is set on a kind of column. Outside of the central figure, and above, as in the case

of the Iṣṭakhr bowl, there are two arabesque emanations on either side of a flower, and on each of the two lower corners an arabesque excrescency. As the original idea of the design is not known it is difficult to say whether or not these two decorations may be regarded as variations of one and the same motif.

Other Samarra-type pottery included blue and white bowls and Tang splash wares with sgraffito decoration. One of the two illustrated examples of blue and white ware has a triple festoon edge and an elegant Kufic inscription (apparently the word *al-Dawla*, "Victory"), decorations which are very close to those of the well-known bowls belonging to M. de Lorey<sup>10</sup> and the late M. R. Koechlin.<sup>11</sup> A rim fragment with the same multiple festoon decoration as in all three pieces was found in Samarra,<sup>12</sup> which yielded also closely related types of Kufic.<sup>13</sup> There is also a parallel for the twelve-petaled rosette of the second piece among the Samarra finds.<sup>14</sup> This shows how the fairly simple, quick-stroked decorations had assumed a standard repertoire, the easy repetition of which was a vital presupposition to an extensive export, and second in importance only to the general technical and coloristic appeal of this ware. No wonder, therefore, that judging from the fragments so far published one can trace its diffusion from the still unknown place of manufacture in Iraq over an unusually wide area of the Near East.

The mottled glazed pottery with sgraffito

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 572 D.

<sup>11</sup> R. Koechlin and G. Migeon, *Islamische Kunstwerke* (Berlin, 1928), Pl. IV.

<sup>12</sup> F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra II* (Berlin, 1925), Fig. 100.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Figs. 108, 113, 114.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII, No. 168 (with the fragment of an eight-petaled rosette). The reviewer owns a bowl of the same ware with a ten-petaled rosette and five festoons along the rim, from an unknown (probably Persian) site.

<sup>7</sup> W. Hauser, J. M. Upton, and C. K. Wilkinson, "The Īrānian Expedition, 1937," *Bull. Metropolitan Mus. Art*, XXXIII (1938), No. 11, Sec. II, Fig. 11.

<sup>8</sup> "Glazed Relief Ware of the Ninth Century A.D.," *Ars Islamica*, VI (1939), 62-64.

<sup>9</sup> A. U. Pope, "The Ceramic Art in Islamic Times. A. The History," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York, 1938), Vol. V, Pl. 574 A.

decoration is called the "characteristic *Iṣṭakhr* ware of the Islamic period." As this type seems to be fairly general in all early Islamic sites of Iran and Iraq, it must represent a particularly high percentage among the ceramic finds of *Iṣṭakhr*.

A large storage jar represents another frequently found type, the barbotine pottery with green glaze. It lacks the three small loop handles below the neck found on the storage vessels discovered at *Ḥīra*, Baghdad, Samarra, Susa, and *Shāpūr*, which are handsomer in shape and less coarse in decoration. Its widest diameter is closer to the foot than in the other pieces of the Samarra period; furthermore, the ratio of the barbotine decorated upper part to the undecorated lower part is much higher. All these features differentiate the *Iṣṭakhr* vessel from the egg-shaped jars of the Samarra type and seem to link it with the pottery of the pre-Samarra age.

A bone figurine and a bronze tripod with suspension handles are the most interesting among the other finds illustrated and briefly discussed. The undecorated tripod belongs to a type of which decorated specimens have been found in

the Caucasus<sup>15</sup>—a conservative region in which earlier Iranian forms, especially of the Sasanian and post-Sasanian period, were loyally preserved.

The extraordinary sculpture illustrated in Figure 87 of the book, though found in the Sasanian layer, must be much earlier, as suggested by Professor Herzfeld. The Sasanian pottery found was simple and utilitarian only. Here again one might get new light on an old problem of Near Eastern archaeology when the whole body of the important *Iṣṭakhr* material has been presented.

We hope that this final publication of the finds made by the Oriental Institute expedition will soon come off the press. There is no doubt that it will materially increase our knowledge of the art of the first centuries of Islam.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

<sup>15</sup> J. Orbeli, "Albanskīe Rel' i Bronzov' iē Kotl' i" ("Reliefs from Albania and Bronze Cauldrons, XII–XIII Century"), *Pamiatniki Epokhi Rustaveli* ("Monuments of the Epoch of Rustaveli") (Leningrad, Ermitage, 1938), Pls. 55–59, especially Pl. 56.



IN MEMORIAM  
JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI  
(1862–1941)

The well-known art historian, Josef Strzygowski, died in Vienna in January, 1941, at the age of 79. With his passing, the art world lost one of its most dynamic personalities.

Strzygowski was born March 7, 1862, in Austria. He studied classical archaeology and art history in Vienna, Berlin, and Munich and traveled extensively in the West and the East. He soon began to be interested in the sources of late antique and early Christian art, which brought him in touch with the art of Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Iran. He was the first art historian to call the attention of the world to the importance of the Orient for the understanding of the evolution of Western art during the first millennium. In 1901 he published his revolutionary book, *Orient oder Rom*, which aroused a great deal of controversy among archaeologists and art historians. Although many of his theories were not accepted at the time, he made the art world conscious of important art centers outside Europe. His evidence was not always convincing, and many disagreed with his theories, but nobody could deny his genius and vision. Today his theory that early Christian art originated to a great extent in the Near East is generally accepted by all scholars.

In 1903 he published his book *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* and in 1904 *Koptische Kunst*, a catalogue of the Coptic collection in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo. Both these works opened to the art world new fields of early Christian art which had been hitherto ignored by archaeologists. In 1904 he issued his study of the now famous façade of the Umayyad palace of Mshattā, which was brought to Berlin through his efforts. Strzygowski believed that it had been built by an Arab prince of the Ghassanid dynasty, sometime between the fourth and the sixth century.

In 1910, jointly with Max van Berchem, he published a study on Diarbekr-Amida, a contribution to art history of the medieval period in north Mesopotamia, Hellas, and the West. With his *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* (1917), he introduced new controversial problems, emphasizing the role played by nomads and Nordic peoples in the evolution of ornament during the migration era. In many ways this book is perhaps one of the most important contributions of Strzygowski. Some of his theories, expressed boldly in this book, are now generally adopted by art historians. Another epochal work was *Die Baukunst der Armenier in Europa* (1918), in which Strzygowski attempted to prove the connection between the architecture of Armenia and certain types of churches in Europe.

After the first world war, Strzygowski's interest turned toward the European north. He believed that between the Asiatic north and the European north there existed an affinity in the field of art. In 1926 he issued *Der Norden in der bildenden Kunst Westeuropas*.

Strzygowski's fame rests not only upon his prolific writings but also on his reputation as a teacher. His Art Institute of the University of Vienna was the Mecca of young students from all countries who were interested in fields other than classical archaeology and Western art. He encouraged research in Asiatic art and inspired young scholars, many of whom have achieved a world-wide reputation.

M. S. DIMAND





















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